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This 11th-grade language unit focuses on dialectology, the regional variations of American English, and the causes for the differences and similarities in language usage in the United States. Issues surveyed in the unit are (1) the historical basis for dialect differences from the time of the early colonists, (2) current speech characteristics of major dialect areas--their differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and meanings assigned to words, (3) influences of other languages on American English, (4) the purposes and methods of linguistic geographers, and (5) the use of dialects in the literature of such writers as James Russell Lowell, Joel Chandler Harris, Bret Harte, and John Hay. Included to supplement classroom presentation are lists of audio-visual materials, "Americanisms" and the writers who first recorded them, American-British equivalents, selected reference works on American English, and literary works using dialects. Lectures, discussion questions, worksheets, and suggested student activities are also provided. (JB)

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Unit 1101

Language Varies by Place: American English

Grade 11

CAUTIONARY NOTE

These materials are for experimental use by Project English fellows and their associates who contributed to their development.

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TE 001 331

TO THE TEACHER

This unit is intended to provide background materials on regional varations of speech within the United States, the causes for the differences and similarities, the work of dialect geographers, and the study of dialect in American literature. Marginal notes will provide suggestions for procedure and student activities.

A quick glance at the unit will indicate that there are probably too many activities for the typical class. The teacher should feel free to delete activities as necessary. Some many wish to use certain activities, especially those in connection with literary dialects, in other units, such as the regional literature of America.

A vocabulary list is included in Appendix I. The teacher may wish to duplicate this for student use in this unit.

Additional maps are available in transparency and overlay form for $6.50 per set.

Before beginning the unit, it is suggested that the teacher read through the materials for several hours, being quite certain to examine carefully the material in the appendices.

Materials Needed

Allen, H.B. "You and your Dialect", in Many-Sided Language, Robert F. Spencer, ed. (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota).

Harris, Joel Chandler. "Brer Rabbitt, Brer Fox, and the Tar Baby," in An Anthology of Famous American Short Stories, Angus Burrell and Bennett Cerf, eds. (New York; Modern Library, 1953).

Lowell, James Russell, "The Courtia".

(Also see bibliography)

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SAMPLE INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

This unit can be introduced by the film, The Alphabet Conspiracy, available through Northwestern Bell Telephone Company.

When an American takes his first trip to Europe, he is amazed at the diversity of dialects he hears within the confines of a given country. A visitor to Norway discovers that as he travels from fjord to fjord or from community to community the very nature of the Norwegian landscape has provided the country with a wide variation of dialects and that spoken dialects differ tremendously from the so-called "Book Norse". In Belgium the uninitiated traveler will again be confronted with dialectal differences as he goes from place to place. As he crosses the border into France and traverses the country, he is again impressed with the fact that all Frenchmen do not speak the French he learned in high school-Parisian French. In Germany he finds that all Germans do not speak the language of Berlin.

But when the noephyte American traveler arrives in England, he is even more confounded when he is confronted with the many dialects prevalent there. He has, no doubt, always felt that "English is English". W.W. Skeat, director and honorary secretary of the English Dialect Society, however, indicated that in 1911 there were forty-two dialects of the English language in the British Isles alone: nine in Scotland, three in Ireland, and thirty in England and Wales. E.H. Sturtevant in An Introduction to Linguistic Science states that there are hundreds of versions of the English language around the world. If one can believe the statements in A Language in Common that number will soon be increased by the emergence of new tongues deriving from English in various countries throughout the world. One of these, Krio, for instance, current in Freetown in Sierra Leone, West Africa, is understood only with great difficulty by the English-speaking visitor. As further evidence of the development of new variants, we find that in Nigeria, native writers are using a type of Pidgin English and that each of the native West Indian writers has invented his own version of colloquial English. This evidence indicates that the number of English dialects will increase rather than decrease. This move is in keeping, it seems, with Sturtevant's statement that "Human speech is infinitely variable both in time and space".

The American traveler may return home more keenly interested in American English and its variants, of which apparently he has previously been somewhat oblivious. He may become aware of the differences in the various regions of America and search out the roots of those differences.

Historical Background
Lecture

I. THE HISTORICAL BASIS FOR DIALECTS IN AMERICA

Although in America we can understand and be understood wherever we go, we too have our dialectal differences; and the reasons for these differences become quite evident when we delve into the background of our nation.

Historical Background
Lecture continued

Teacher may wish to place information on chalkboard.

Historians usually divide the migrations to North America which occurred between 1607 and 1890 into three periods:

Period I:	1607-1790 - England
Period II:	1790-1860 - Ireland and Germany
Period III:	1860-1890 - Southern Europe and Slavic

Each of these periods has significant characteristics. Up to 1790, the immigrants were predominantly English. Non-English immigrants did not begin to arrive until after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 1790, ninety-five percent of the country's population of four million lived east of the Appalachian Mountains. Of these 3,800,000,ninety percent were of English origin. Economic and political conditions in Europe led many non-English immigrants to seek asylum in the United States during the nineteenth century. Two of the largest mid-century influxes came in 1845 and 1848. 1845 saw the inflow of multitudes of Irishmen who migrated to America because of a potato famine in their homeland. The failure of a revolution in Germany in 1848 caused throngs of Germans to migrate to this country. These groups settled either in large central cities like Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis or on the farmlands of the Midwest. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a steady stream of over one million Scandinavians, or one fifth

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Historical information for this unit has been extracted from Albert C. Baugh's A History of the English Language, New York: Appleton, 1957.

Historical Background
Lecture Continued

of the total population of Norway and Sweden, settled in the upper Mississippi Valley. Up to 1890 the British Isles and the Teutonic countries of northern Europe provided seventy-five or ninety percent of the newcomers to our land.

In 1890 the character of the immigration changed. Large numbers of immigrants began to arrive from the southern European and Slavic countries. Italy alone furnished over three hundred thousand persons annually.

A. ORIGIN OF EARLY COLONISTS

SUGGESTION: Project Map I, showing origin of New England and Virginia Colonists.

In checking the backgrounds of our current American dialects, we shall first consider the three basic areas of settlement: New England, the Middle Atlantic Colonies, and the South Atlantic Colonies. Research has shown that two-thirds of the settlers around Massachusetts Bay came from the eastern counties of England and that most of the New England colonists in general came from the southeastern and southern counties of England. Professor Anders Orbeck studies New England pronunciation in 1927, and for his information he checked into the places of 685 early English-speaking settlers in the towns of Plymouth, Watertown, and Dedham, Massachusetts.

Look at the map I have (posted/projected) here. Notice the shaded area. These areas are the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. We commonly

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[1] Andres Orbeck, *Early New England Pronunciation as Reflected in Some Seventeenth Century Town Records* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1927), 119ff, quoted in C. Merton Babcock, *The Ordeal of American English* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1961).

call them the East Midlands area of England. Together with London proper, these counties provided seventy-five percent of first wave immigrants to Massachusetts.

DISCUSS:

1. Since the first wave of immigrants came largely from the East Midlands, what dialect from England was likely to be the most predominant one in Massachusetts?

   (East Midlands dialect)

2. Since East Midlands area in England included London, and since London was the center of English commercial and cultural life, what generalization can be made about the language spoken by the majority of early settlers in New England, especially Massachusetts?

   (They spoke the language most likely used in commerce and cultural activities in England.)

Generalization

If Orbeck's survey can be taken as representative of the early settlement of New England, it is quite likely that the pronunciation and usage which furnished the basis of standard British English clearly predominated also on the New England frontier.

Discussion-Lecture Continued

Look at Map II. This map shows shaded areas from which large numbers of early colonists in New England came.

Post of Project Map I and Map II

From Orbeck's study, represented by Map I, we saw that the residents of Massachusetts came, in the main, from the East Midlands area.

DISCUSS:

1. Is the same generalization true for all of New England, if the information from Map II is accurate?

   (No)

2. In what ways does Map II differ from Map I?

   (Includes areas from West Midlands and more of East Midlands)

3. If we assume that the information for both maps is correct, what generalization can be made about the speech of New England as compared with the speech of Massachusetts alone?

NOTE TO TEACHER:
This is included only to ensure caution in interpreting data from maps. Generalizations about linguistic data do not reflect specific deviations and variations.

(The speech of New England represents a broader range of dialects from England than does that of Massachusetts)

4. Would it be fair to say that all of Massachusetts speakers use East Midlands speech?

(No; Map I indicates only the majority [seventy-five percent] of speakers around a certain area of Massachusetts)

5. If we look at Map II as a whole, from what part of the British Isles did the large majority of colonists to New England come?

(Southern England)

Lecture-Discussion Continued

Now let us look at Map III. This map shows in percentages the areas from which the early colonists to Virginia came.

Post or Project Map III

DISCUSS:

1. In what ways does Map III resemble Map II?

(Large numbers of colonists from southern and eastern England; some colonists from northern England)

2. Where did the large majority of colonists to Virginia come from?

(Southern England)

3. Look again at Map II. Recall what region of England most of the immigrants to New England came from?

(Southern England)

4. What can you conclude about the speech of most Virginians and the speech of most New Englanders before 1700?

Generalization

(It was largely the same dialect, as both groups tended to come, in the main, from southern England)

NOTE: The teacher may wish to make reference to the chart from which Maps II and III were drawn. Appendix A.

5. Does anyone know the dates of colonization of America, in general terms?

(From 1607 onward to 1790 when America became formally independent)

6. What great writer was living in England during the early years of this period?

(Shakespeare)

7. If Shakespeare was living and writing during the early years of this period--in London-- what can you conclude about the speech of the early colonists, as compared with that of Shakespeare?

(generally the same, although there were some differences)

Summary Statement

The language spoken by early settlers in New England --and to some extent in Virginia--was very similar to that of Shakespeare. In many ways it was very similar to the language we speak today in America generally. There were some differences,but none which would interfere too much with communication. The speaker in the colonies might well speak as in the following excerpt from Shakespeare's Hamlet:

This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

DISCUSS:

1. Which words are seldom used in speaking today?

(thine, thou, canst)

Generalization

This change in the pronoun to "you," "your" is the most notable change from the colonial times to now.

In the Middle Atlantic Colonies, the story of settlement is somewhat more intricate. Although the Dutch settled New York, the colony was soon infiltrated by the English. New Jersey was almost completely English, East Jersey being an offshoot of New England.

English Quakers peopled Delaware, and Pennsylvania became the home of English Quakers, Welsh, Scotch Irish, and Germans. About 1750, according to Benjamin Franklin, the population of Pennsylvania was one-third English, one-third Scotch, and one-third German. The last group came to the colony to escape persecution in the Palatinate. English Catholics made up the largest part of Maryland's population, but the back country of that colony was settled by Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania.

The nucleus of the South Atlantic settlements, the tidewater district of Virginia and south, was composed of a conglomeration of groups--political refugees, Commonwealth soldiers, royalists, deported prisoners, indentured servants, and Puritans. This was a mixed population, coming from all parts of England and representing many social classes.

Suggested Lecture Material

B. THE ORIGIN OF THE DIALECTS IN THE COLONIES

"Dialect," says H.W. Fowler, "is the variety of language that prevails in a district, with local peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation, and phrase."[2]

Hans Kurath, American linguistic geographer, maintains that American English is essentially Southern English Standard of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as modified locally. The materials

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[2] Fowler, H.W., A Dictionary of Modern English Usage, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 307.

Lecture Continued

we studied about the origin of the early American colonists indicate that the English spoken by them was that of the area from which they came and determined the speech of the communities which they settled. The importance of Virginia in the latter settlement of the South, then, undoubtedly accounts for the spread of the dialect of the South of England to that region.

The speech of the Middle Colonies was, on the basis of colonist origin, more Northern than that of New England and Virginia. Since the Quakers had the largest following in the north of England and the North of England and the North Midlands, a good many of the settlers of eastern Pennsylvania and the contiguous parts of New Jersey and Delaware undoubtedly came from the northern half of England, bringing with them the English spoken there. The Scotch who settled in Pennsylvania had lived for a few generations in New England, and the Irish brought with them northern English. The Germans naturally acquired their English from the English-speaking colonists among whom they settled. The preponderance of northern English dialect among these people accounts, no doubt, for the preservation of the r, intervocalic and final, and other characteristics in the dialect of present-day inhabitants of the Middle Atlantic States.

This intervocalic and final r is best demonstrated by the fact that settlers in the Middle Colonies would tend to say "father" whereas settlers in New England and in Virginia would tend to say "fathuh". [faðə]

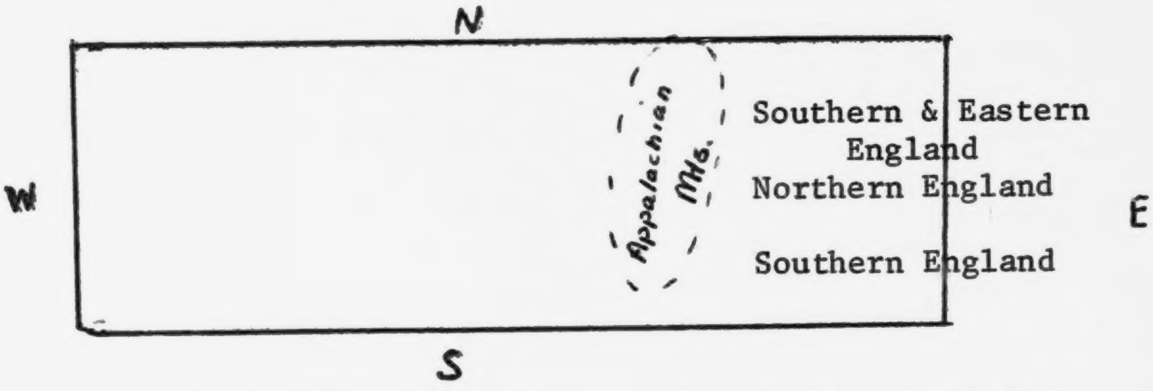
Lecture Continued

What we have seen so far about the origins of the settlers of New England, the Middle Colonies, and Virginia is important, because it is from these original settlers that much of present-day Standard English arises. We can still trace many features of American English directly to these origins.

Not only is it important to know from which regions these colonists came, but it is also important to remember where they settled. Later, as we discuss westward migrations after 1790, we well see the influence of these settlers over and over.

For the moment, let us use a rectangle to symbolize the United States.

Draw rectangle on chalkboard.



Lecture Continued

On the right, the eastern seaboard, let us insert the places of origin of various groups from England before 1790. The dotted lines will represent the Appalachian chain of mountains, which were, for all practical purposes, the western boundary of civilization at that time. As we go on discussing the characteristics of the dialects of each of the three regions. (New England, Middle Colonies, Virginia) remember the region in England from which they came.

Let us go on now to examine those features of speech characteristic in the South of England which influenced speakers in New England and in Virginia and which still have effects in English as spoken in America.

NOTE: Some teachers may wish to delete this section with less able students. If this section is deleted, begin again at Section III, "Extension via Migration."

Before we do this, however, it might be a good idea to examine the means by which linguists, dialectologists, and lexicographers record pronunciation. Since many of the features we will discuss involve pronunciation, we may as well acquaint ourselves with phonemic transcription, commonly used to record pronunciations.

NOTE: In lieu of this section, the teacher may wish to refer to Maps V and VI, following this section. Other teachers using this section may wish to use these maps as supplementary materials in addition to the regular unit materials.

Pass out Handout #1

Note that the handout has a symbol--only one--for each sound. In this respect it is unlike most alphabets, which often have more than one sound for each symbol, or letter, or more than one symbol or letter for some sounds. You will notice that some symbols, mainly consonants, are letters of the alphabet with which you are acquainted. Some, however, are entirely new.

Pass out Worksheet #1

On Worksheet #1, you have an opportunity to try your hand at transcribing some sounds into phonemic transcription and some words from phonemic transcription into the dialect of this region. For the purpose of this assignment you should assume you are a speaker of Standard American English of this region.

NOTE: Key for Worksheet #1 is in Appendix B.

Unit 1101A

Handout #1

Sheet for Use in Phonemic Transcription

/p/	as in peel	/b/	as in bell
/t/	as in take	/d/	as in dell
/k/	as in candy	/g/	as in good
/č/	as in change	/ǰ/	as in judge
/f/	as in phone	/v/	as in very
/θ/	as in think	/ð/	as in the
/s/	as in sew	/z/	as in as
/š/	as in ship	/ž/	as in visual
/y̲/	as in huge	/y/	as in yes
/w̲/	as in where	/w/	as in ware
/h/	as in who		
/l/	as in lap		
/r/	as in rat		
/m/	as in mine		
/n/	as in none		
/ŋ/	as in sing		
/iy/	as in peel		
/i/	as in pill		
/ey/	as in pale		
/e/	as in bell		
/ae/	as in pal		
/ə/	as in the first syllable of about		
/a/	as in the first syllable of colony		
/uw/	as in pool		
/u/	as in pull		
/ow/	as in pole		
/ɔ/	as in caught		
/ay/	as in pile		
/aw/	as in house		
/ɔy/	as in noise		

Adapted from Unit 1005, MPEC; largely the work of Lee Pederson.

Unit 1101A

WORKSHEET #1

Name______________________________

Part I

Directions: Transcribe into phonemic transcription:

1. rat ____________________
2. cow ____________________
3. me ____________________
4. I ____________________
5. over ____________________
6. house ____________________
7. cheese ____________________
8. judge ____________________
9. church ____________________
10. ring ____________________

Part II

Directions: Transcribe into regular spelling the following:

1. /kəstəmər/
2. /helpfəl/
3. /ɔfəl/
4. /lakyɔ/
5. /kar/
6. /tiyθ/
7. /faðər/
8. /siŋiŋ/
9. /beybiy/
10. /papə/

Lecture-Discussion
Continued

Now that you have the phonemic transcription chart before you and a bit of experience with it, let us look at some features of English directly traceable to those early settlers. As we do this, keep in mind our rectangle, with settlers from Southern England colonizing New England and Virginia, and with people from Northern England settling predominantly in the Middle Colonies.

NOTE: Teacher will need to write words and IPA transcription on the chalkboard.

C. EFFECTS ON AMERICAN SPEECH BY SPEAKERS FROM SOUTHERN ENGLAND

One feature of the Standard English in the South of England that has been retained by New Englanders is the pronunciation of r only before vowels: ready, hurry, far off. Sometimes, however, the r is slighted before an unstressed vowel, as in the case of

carrry /kəɛ:i/ and Maryland /məɛ:lənd/.

Another is the loss of the r sound before consonants and in final position:

large /la: ž/ fair /fəɛə/

far cry /fa:kray/

Seaboard New England speech resembles Southern English speech in the following ways:

(1) the shortened vowel in coat, whole, and home
/kθwt/ /hθwl/ /hθwm/

(2) low central vowel in /ha:f/ /da:ns/

D. EFFECTS ON PRESENT-DAY AMERICAN DIALECTS BY SPEECH FROM NORTHERN ENGLAND

The speech of our North and West follows the pronunciation of Standard English of the North of England. There are four distinguishable features:

(1) preservation of the distinction between mid-open long vowel o: of four, hoarse, mourning and the low short vowel of forty, horse, and morning.

(2) the use of qualitatively identical vowels in hat /hæt/ and half /h f/.

(3) the preference for voiceless s- sound in transition, discuss, and greasy /traenzišən/ /diskəs/ /griysi/.

Suggested Lecture Material

II. CURRENT ASPECTS OF THE THREE MAJOR DIALECT AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES: NORTHERN, MIDLAND, AND SOUTHERN

Project Map IV during lecture

A. FEATURES OF THE NORTHERN DIALECT

Eastern New England has the following pronunciation features:

(1) the rounded vowel in hot, top and stop while the rest of the country uses the unrounded to a shortened form of a in father or all.

(2) the use of a broad a in fast, path, grass while the rest of the country, except the South, uses æ in hat.

(3) the loss of -r in car and hard.

At this point, present the difference between phonetic and phonemic transcription.

(4) a contrast between the /o/ and /ɔ/ in the pairs:

/o/	/ɔ/
mourning	morning
hoarse	horse
fourteen	forty

(5) the use of /i/ in the unstressed syllable of houses and fearless. /hawziz/ and /firlis/

(6) the use of /ð/ in with.

(7) the use of /s/ in grease and greasy.

(8) the use of /ɔ/ in because, /bə/ rather than /biy/.

New York City speech is characterized by:

(1) the loss of r.

(2) the almost always unrounded o- before voiceless stops: /p/, /t/, /k/

cot /kat/ caught /kɔt/

(3) the pronunciation of curl as coil and third as thoid. (Cultured New Yorkers say /kəil/ or /kɔyl/.

B. FEATURES OF MIDDLE ATLANTIC DIALECT

The following characteristics are evident in the eastern third of Pennsylvania below the North Midland line (See map, Line AA.) the southern half of New Jersey, the nothern half of Delaware, and the adjacent parts of Maryland: (Philadelphia is the focal area of this region.)

(1) the presence of r in all positions.

(2) the unrounded vowel in forest as in hot /hat/

(3) use of /ae/ in fast, ask, and grass.

Western Pennsylvania (sometimes called Western Midland), western Maryland, and adjacent parts of West Virginia on the south have these features:

(1) over-all General American pattern.

(2) r is always pronounced.

(3) /ae/ used in ask and path.

(4) cot and caught, homonyms /kat/

Characteristics which are spread throughout the Midland Region are:

(1) /r/ after vowels /ɝ/

(2) /ɔ/ in on; in wash and wasp; /aw/ in hog, frog, and fog.

(3) /e/ in Mary and dairy.

(4) /ə/ in the unstressed syllable of houses and fearless.

(5) /θ/ in with, although /ð/ is also used.

(6) the incidence of /r/ in wash.

C. FEATURES OF SOUTHERN DIALECT

The Southern Dialect covers a large area, the old plantation country. Important focal points are the Virginia Piedmont and the low country coast of Southern Carolina. This area has some of the same characteristics of the New England area, a similarity which has been previously attributed to the common derivation of the early settlers of both sections. The basic traits are:

(1) loss of r before consonants, as in car /ka:/ and and hard. /ha:d/

(2) omission of r before a word beginning with a vowel--far way /fa:Øwey/.

(3) lack of rounded vowels in words like top and hot

and lack of broad a in grass and dance (preference /ae,ə,ae/).

In Virginia and South Carolina, the so-called Southern drawl involves the dipthongization or double dipthongization of stressed vowels.

		Single		Double
Example:	/yes/	/yeis/	or	/yeyəs/
	/class/	/klæyəs/	or	/kleyəs/

(4) weakened articulation of final consonant groups: las' for last; kep' for kept; fin' for find.

(5) considerable local difference.

(6) use of /iy/ in unstressed syllables of houses and fearless.

(7) use of /il/ in towel and funnel.

D. GENERAL AMERICAN SPEECH CHARACTERISTICS

General American is a classification of dialect that applies to two-thirds of the United States--to all regions except Eastern New England, Metropolitan New York, and the South. Its chief characteristics are these:

(1) flat a /ae/ in fast and path.

(2) unrounded vowel in hot and top /hat/

(3) retention of strong r in all positions.

(4) less tendency than British English to introduce a glide after the vowels /ey/ in late and /ow/ in note.

NOTE:

TO THE TEACHER

On the pages following are a series of projects which are self-explanatory. Some are for use with more able students, and some teachers may wish to delete these with students of average or less-than-average ability.

Project I requires no key, but rather intensive reading by the teacher.
Project II has a series of suggested answers in Appendix C.

For Use With Students
Of Average Ability

PROJECT I

On the page following you will find a description of "Folk Speech in the Ozarks." Using the information from the chart, make the following comparisons:

1. In What ways does Ozark speech most differ from "Southern Standard"?
2. In what ways is Ozark speech most like "Southern Standard"?
3. In what ways is Ozark speech most distinctive? That is, if you heard someone using this dialect, what items would stand out as genuine Ozark speech, and not merely "Southern Standard" in general?

FOLK SPEECH IN THE OZARKS

South Standard	Ozark	South Standard	Ozark
kettle	kittle	boil	bile
chest	chist	-oil words	-ile
hinder	hender	poison	pizen
concern	consarn	sudden	suddint
certain	sartin	hold	holt
wrestle	wrastel	killed	kilt
deaf	deef	turtle	turkle
egg	aig	after	atter
yellow	yaller	culvert	culbert
pert	peert	dew	jew
care	keer	tedious	teejus
share	sheer	candle	canle
scare	skeer		
hair	har		
bear	bar		
stair	star		
chair	cheer chur		
have	hev have		
hasn't	hain't		
haven't	hain't		
can't	cain't		
wrap	wrop		
gather	gether		
dare	dar		
spare	spar		
calm	cam		
rather	ruther		
rear	rare rar		
shallow	shaller		
borrow	borry		
yonder	yander		
onion	ingurn		
on	awn		
hungry	hongry hawngry		
brush	bresh		
touch	tetch		
sauce	sass		
gaunt	gant		

From Vance Randolph and George P. Wilson, Down in the Holler, A Gallery of Ozark Folk Speech, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.

PROJECT II

Below you will find an excerpt from Joel Chandler Harris' Mingo. Use the three columns as indicated on the following page and fill in the kind of information suggested by the examples. Use your own dialect as the test for "General Colloquial"; use the information you recently discussed about the South as a criterion for "Low Colloquial."

"When I seen her a-kneelin' thar, with 'er year-rings a-danglin' an' 'er fine feathers a-tossin' an' a-tremblin', lettle more an' my thoughts would 'a' sot me afire. I riz an' I stood over her, an' I says, says I, --

"'Emily Wornum, whar you er hungin' the dead you oughter hunted the livin'. What's betwix' you an' your Maker I can't tell,' says I, 'but if you git down on your face an' lick the dirt what Deely Bivins walked on, still you won't be humble enough nuther. She died right yer while you was a-traipsin' and' a-trollopin' roun' frum pos' to pillar a-upholdin' your quality idees.

WORKSHEET II

PROJECT II

Name____________________________

General Colloquial	Low Colloquial	Local Dialect
an' "er" for "are"	"seen" for "saw" a-kneelin'	thar "year-rings" for "ear-rings"

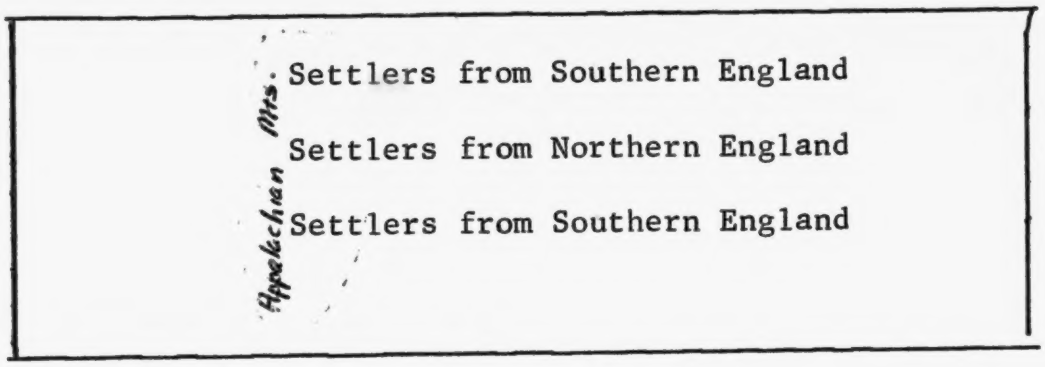
If you deleted previous sections with less able students being again here.

Lecture-Discussion Continued

III. EXTENSION OF EASTERN SEABOARD DIALECTS ACROSS THE CONTINENT VIA MIGRATIONS

You will recall that we used a rectangle to symbolize The United States with colonists settling as follows:

Place on Chalkboard


Appalachian Mts.
Settlers from Southern England
Settlers from Northern England
Settlers from Southern England

Now let's put this rectangle on the framework of a map of the United States.

Project Map VII

This map shows the sources of early colonization.

Project Overlay #1

Now, with this overlay you will see the early routes of migration West over the Appalachian chain of mountains. These mountains, for all practical purposes, served as a barrier prior to 1790, but after that time certain routes--three main ones--were used to move westward. These three routes are shown on the overlay. One additional area of migration is shown. You will find this is not really a route of migration westward but rather a general area of westward movement.

When the lines showing routes of migration are broken, this means that the first pioneers settled briefly, then another generation moved on, etc. In some cases, you will find two or three or more such stops.

Important Generalization

The important thing to remember is that these settlers took their language with them on their way westward. Whatever else they may have left behind when they departed, or whatever they may have lost along the way, it is important to remember that they did not leave their dialects behind, nor did they lose them. The language they spoke in the native region was the one sure thing they took with them to their new settlements.

These three routes (and one area) can be summarized as follows:

Route #1 - Through the Mohawk Valley and via Lake Erie and the Canal.

Route #2 - Via the National Road to Ohio River and there to St. Louis, then up Mississippi to St. Paul.

Route #3 - Via the Cumberland Gap over the Wilderness Road.

Area #4 - South of the Blue Ridge part of the Appalachian chain into Mississippi.

You should note from the overlay that while the Appalachian Mountains serve as a barrier, the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers do not. It is fair to say that these two rivers, especially the Mississippi, contributed to mixing of the dialects among the settlers moving west.

NOTE: Principle

This leads us to an important principle in language development. Mobility tends to result in language mixing. The greater the movement, the greater is the mixing; the less the movement (as for example, in the case with natural barriers, such as valleys surrounded by mountains) the less likely is one to find mixing. As a matter of fact, where there is little mobility (as in the case of some areas in the U. S.) the language is still very much like that spoken when those areas were first settled.

Project Map VIII

Let us now summarize the settlements in the U. S. between 1850 and 1860. As I discuss these settlements, look at Map VIII. Notice the direction of the arrows showing direction of migrations. The labels indicate the source of settlers, either from regions in the East or more directly from other countries. Also keep in mind the four major routes or areas of migration west shown on Map VII and the overlay with it. Map VIII tends to show other movements, that is, north to south, south to north, etc.

We have already made note of the mobility of the American colonists. One movement involved the infiltration of Scotch-Irish and German emigrants from Pennsylvania into the back country to Virginia, the Carolinas, and even Georgia via the Shenandoah Valley. This migration accounted for the difference in the population of the western part of the South Atlantic colonies and for the difference in speech habits of the two sections.

The whole Middle West illustrates the spread and intermingling of elements in the population of the original thirteen colonies. Kentucky was settled by Virginians while Albama and Mississippi were peopled by emigrants from Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Half of the population of Albama and Mississippi was Negro. Originally a French colony, Louisiana was peopled largely by French, Scotch, and English settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, and even Virginia and North Carolina contributed to the population of Missouri.

After the Revolution, the Old Northwest Territory was settled by emigrants from three different directions:

(1) New England and upper New York, stimulated by the opening of the Erie Canal,

(2) Pennsylvania and by those who came through Pennsylvania from other states, and

(3) the South, crossing the Ohio from Kentucky and West Virginia.

By 1850 the Southerners in Indiana outnumbered those who came from New England and the Middle States by two to one. Michigan and Wisconsin were the only states in the territory whose population was primarily New England in character. To the Old Northwest Territory and the Upper Mississippi Valley also came German and Scandinavian immigrants.

IV. LATER MIGRATIONS: EXTENDING THE LANGUAGE INTO THE WEST AND FAR WEST

Sample Lecture

When the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 opened up the vast territory beyond the Mississippi, fur traders and missionaries went west by two routes: via the Oregon Trail to the Pacific Northwest and via the Sante Fe Trail to the sparsely populated Spanish territory of the Southwest.

Project Map IX

After the Mexican War and the treaty with Great Britain, the 49th parallel became the boundary of the United States, and people began in ever increasing numbers to move westward. By 1860 Oregon had a population of 30,000 half of whom came from Missouri and farther south from Kentucky and Tennessee, and half of whom came largely from New England stock.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought about the rush to California. That territory showed a population increase from 2,000 in February of 1849 to 53,000 by December of that year. By September of 1851 there were 150,000 in the territory, and a year later the population numbered a quarter of a million. Every part of America was represented in this migration.

From the mingling of people from all sections of the eastern seaboard in the transcontinental migration, it would seem that by the process of assimilation various dialectal differences would disappear. In spite of the heterogeneity of the population in the West, however, it has been concluded that "The dialectal differences in the pronunciation of educated American from different sections of the country have had their origin largely in the British regional differences in the pronunciation of Standard English" and that the North and West of the United States is predominantly Northern English, including lowland Scotch, on the basis of stock and speech. Kurath and other linguists geographers contend that the idea of a General American Standard English is somewhat of a myth.

V. EARLY ENRICHMENT OF OUR LANGUAGE BY CONTACT WITH SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

Introductory Lecture-Discussion

Our language in America has been enriched by our borrowing freely from groups with which we came in contact.

Most of our early borrowings were from the American Indian, who supplied names for animals and things the colonists had not seen before.

For example, we have taken the word *skunk* from the Indian *segonku*, and we have derived *succotash* from a Narragansett word. From the Levape Indians we borrowed tomahawk. Additional examples of borrowing from the Indians are:

papoos
caucus
mugwump
pecan
pemmican
powwow
muskelunge
tamorack
toboggon
opposum
punk
raccoon
mocassin
terrapin
totem
wigwam

This material has been excerpted from a speech by Harold B. Allen, "Why Americans Speak the Way They Do."

The colonists sometimes made changes in the borrowings. The Indian word for *woodchuck* was quite similar to *woodchuck*, so the colonists merely used the word they already knew. This happens frequently in the process of borrowing.

The colonists occasionally made mistakes. Our present-day name for the *moose* is really an Indian word--not the name of the animal, however, but rather the Indian word for the moose's habit of running itself and its antlers against trees.

As the colonists encountered French fur traders and missionaries in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, they borrowed additional words, such as:

charivari
coulee
levee
plateau
prarie
lagniappe
picayune
chowder
shortening

Discussion

1. What kinds of contacts were apparently made with the French?

   (ordinary, everyday meetings)

2. What can we assume from these contacts, on the basis of the borrowings indicated here?

   (Food was shared, land and its features discussed, etc.)

3. Where any legal terms borrowed?

   (No.)

From the contacts with Spanish, the early colonists borrowed many terms. In Spanish Florida, they borrowed:

pickaninny
fandango
tornado
creole

List these words on chalkboard.

In Spanish Texas, the following words came into American English:

adobe
lasso
mesa
corral
burro
plaza
canyon

Student Assigment

On the basis of these seven words, write one paragraph describing the kind of contacts the early settlers apparently made with the Spanish Texans. What do these terms describe? What occupation do they suggest?

Sample Lecture

May be read to students

VI. THE PURPOSE AND METHODS OF LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY

Do you know that you can often identify a Northerner if he says pail for bucket, comforter or combortable for a heavy quilt, brook for stream? Or a Midlander for his use of skillet for frying pan and blinds for window shades? A Southerner by rock fence for stone fence and light-bread for white bread? The research carried on for the Linguistic Atlas indicates that these identifications are possible.

These are the types of things the linguistic geographer studies and reports in his findings. It is the aim of the linguistic geographer to find the origins of dialect differences in the relationships among people, in their origins, and in their current social environment. He notes particularly the differences in vocabularly, and the differences in grammar.

A. DIFFERENCES IN PRONUNCIATION

In the area of pronunciation, the linguistic geographer recognizes two types: systematic and individual. These terms seem to be self-explanatory, systematic referring to a difference that affects a whole group of words in a similar way and individual designating a difference that affects only a single word or a group of closely related words. An example of a systematic difference is the loss of the sound r except before vowels and the intrusion of r between two vowel sounds in the speech of Eastern New England.

Teacher may wish to review IPA or summarize it.

Example: /f ti/ for forty (loss of r)
idear of it for idea of it (intrusion of r)

An example of the individual difference is that of the z sound in grease and greasy.

The linguistic geographer uses a minutely detailed phonetic alphabet to record his findings. This system of symbols is used by the field workers to transcribe the speech of the informants. The phonetic transcription emphasizes the variant pronunciations found among the informants.

B. DIFFERENCES IN VOCABULARY

The worksheet provided will give an indication of the different terms which are used to describe a given item. It is interesting to note the many words, for instance which are used to identify the act of "going down hill on one's stomach on a sled."

Student Activity

Distribute Worksheets III and IV.

At this time, Worksheet III, to accompany "VARIANTS OF EXPRESSIONS IN USE IN THE THREE EASTERN DIALECT AREAS" can be used.

After Worksheet III has been discussed, use Worksheet IV, "CHART SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ATLAS TERMS IN THE ATLANTIC STATES."

WORKSHEET III

WORKSHEET TO ACCOMPANY "VARIANTS OF EXPRESSIONS IN USE IN THE THREE EASTERN DIALECT AREAS"

1. If you check the map of Minnesota, you will find the towns named Hazel Run, and Spring Creek near Granite Falls, Flandrau Creek, Split Creek State Park, Beaver Creek, Jack Creek, Dutch Charley Creek, High Water Creek, and the towns of Ash Creek and Beaver Creek in the southwestern part of the state. Just north of this region you will find Shakopee Creek, Hawk Creek, and Chetamba Creek. You will find the towns of Pine Brook, and Spencer Brook in Isanti County, and the towns of Estes Brook and Popple Creek in neighboring Benton County, and a stream called Spunk Brook in contigous Stearns County. These three counties are in central Minnesota. Using the information from the attached chart, what can you derive from these names about the possible origin of the early settlers in these areas?

2. What expressions are commonly used in your community for each of the following terms: bottom lands, burlap bag, cottage cheese, dragon fly, picket fence, and sick to one's stomach? Does your family use any expressions for these that are atypical of the community usage? If so, do you know why?

3. Two of the terms on the list have to do with sliding. Do the terms used in your area coincide with any of the variants listed?

4. What do you think was the national origin of the settlers who established the following Minnesota towns? New Ulm, Hamburg, Cologne, Danube, New Germany, Hanover, New Munich, New Prague, Stockholm, Luxemburg, and Upsala? Do you know of any other Minnesota communities which were founded by immigrants from one country? What, if any, impact has such settlement had upon the community? Can you draw an inferences from your observations?

Worksheet III, Continued

VARIANT OF EXPRESSIONS IN USE IN THE THREE EASTERN DIALECT AREAS

BASIC EXPRESSION	THE NORTHERN AREA	THE MIDLAND AREA	SOUTHERN AREA
bob sled	bob sled dickie (N. Pa.) traverse sled double runner (N.E.) double ripper		
bottom lands (low-lying lands and fields along large and small water-courses)	flats (New York) intervale (N.E.) (interval)	bottom lands bottoms low-lands	bottom lands bottoms low-grounds savannah
burlap bag	burlap bag or sack gunny sack croker sack (crocus)	Guano sack gunny sack sea-grass	sea-grass grass sack croker sack
coasting face down on a sled	belly-bump belly-bumper belly-bumping belly-bunt belly-gut belly-wop belly-woppers belly-whack belly-kachunk belly-flop belly-flopper	belly-bust belly-bump belly-bumper belly-buster belly-flop belly-flopper belly-bunker belly-grinder belly-booster belly-gut belly-gutter	
cottage cheese	cottage cheese curds curd cheese sour-milk cheese Dutch cheese pot cheese	cottage cheese smear-case	cottage cheese curds curd cheese clabber cheese home-made cheese
creek	brook (N.E.) river kill (rarely, in Vermont, N.Y., Pa.)	creek run branch	creek branch
doughnut	doughnut droughnut raised doughnut riz doughnut cruller fried cake olicook	doughnut cruller fried-cake nut cake fat cake	doughnut cookie fat cake

VARIANTS OF EXPRESSIONS IN USE IN THE THREE EASTERN DIALECTS AREAS (Cont.) 31C

BASIC EXPRESSION	THE NORTHERN AREA	THE MIDLAND AREA	SOUTHERN AREA
dragon fly	dragon fly darning needle	dragon fly darning needle snake doctor snake feeder spindle (N.J.) snake servant (Pa,G) snake garder (Pa, G)	snake feeder snake doctor darning needle mosquito hawk snake waiter
kerosene	kerosene	coal oil (Pa.-E.) lamp oil (Pa.-W.) carbon oil (Pittsburg)	kerosene coal oil lamp oil
kindling wood		pine, fat pine pitch pine rich pine	lightwood
loft	loft scaffold (scaffle) high-beams great-beams ground mow	loft overhead (Pa.) over-den (Pa. G) mow	loft
picket fence	picket fence	paling fence palings paled fence (Pa.) (Del.)	palings walling (N.C.) pale yard (Va.) (N.C.)
salt pork	salt pork (N.E.) side pork side of pork side of bacon side of meat	side meat side pork flitch middlins	middlin side meat fat-back sow belly belly-meat white-meat fat-meat
sick at the stomach	sick to the stomach (N.E.) sick at the stomach	sick at the stomach sick in the stomach sick on the stomach	sick at the stomach sick in the stomach sick on the stomach
store room		store room junk room	lumber room plunder room trumpery room junk room catch-all
wheat bread	bread white bread (E. N.E.) raised-bread (E. N.E.)	bread light-bread	light-bread

WORKSHEET IV

EXERCISE INVOLVING THE IMPLICATIONS ON THE "CHART SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ATLAS TERMS IN THE ATLANTIC STATES"

1. From your knowledge of American history and migrations of settlers we have discussed thus far, what inferences can you draw concerning the distribution of the expression andirons?

2. How do you account for the term big-house as a substitute for living room?

3. What is your guess about the origin of the term toot for the expression paper bag? Of flannel cake or flannen for pancake? Of fritter for pancake?

4. What influence do you think caused the word pavement to be used for the word sidewalk in the rather restricted area indicated on the chart?

5. If we define a "pallet" as a "small, hard, or temporary bed often on the floor," or as "a straw-filled mattress," can you determine why this word has the indicated distribution?

6. How do you account for the term spider as an alternate for frying pan? (Use your dictionary if necessary.) Is this an example of metaphorical language? Why or why not?

7. Look up the etymology of andirons in The American College Dictionary or some other recent dictionary. How does the information you find there make reasonable the terms dog irons and firedogs?

EXPRESSIONS AND THEIR VARIANTS Sub-Area Identification Number	THE NORTHERN AREA					THE MIDLAND AREA											THE SOUTHERN AREA					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
PAPER BAG	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
PAPER SACK	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
POKE							x	x			x	x					x			x		x
TOOT													x		x							
PORCH	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
PIAZZA			x	x	x										x			x		x	x	x
STOOP	x	x	x	x																		
ROLLER SHADES			x				x							x			x			x	x	x
BLINDS						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
CURTAINS				x	x									x	x	x				x		
SEESAW	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
COCKY HORSE (COCKY)															x	x						
DANDLE					x																	
HICKY HORSE (CHICK)																				x		
RIDY-HORSE (RIDING HORSE)								x	x						x						x	x
TEETER	x	x		x	x							x	x									
TEETER BOARD (TEETERINGxB)																						
TEETER-TOTTER	x	x	x	x					x	x	x	x		x								
TILT, TILTING BOARD					x																	
TILTER BOARD																						
TINTER	x			x																		
TIPPITY-BOUNCE			x																			
SIDEWALK	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
PAVEMENT													x	x	x	x						
VEST	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
JACKET						x	x	x	x								x					x
WESKET									x						x	x	x				x	x
WISHBONE	x	x	x	x	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			
LUCKY BONE				x	x														x			
PULL-BONE, PULLY-BONE or PULLING BONE	x					x	x	x	x					x			x	x	x	x	x	x
YOU-ALL							x	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
MONGST-YE																x				x		
YOU'NS							x	x		x	x	x					x					x
YOUS													x	x								

Sample Lecture

C. DIFFERENCES IN GRAMMAR

By surveying information over an area like the Atlantic seaboard, the linguistic geographer finds it possible to determine the spread of certain grammatical constructions. Work done thus far, for example, has shown that the majority of speakers in the Northern Area prefer dove as the preterit (past tense) of dive, wheras the majority of the informants of the South prefer dived. Usage in the Midland Area seems to be divided between the two. "As far as" seems to be preferred to "all the farther" although the latter expression is found in other parts of the country.

Student Activity:
May be given as a written assignment.

What "cultural center or centers" exist in your area? How, in your opinion can a cultural center affect the speech of an area? Do you know of any cultural centers here or elsewhere that have had such an influence?

D. THE METHODS OF THE LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHER

Before initiating his field work, the linguistic geographer must first study the economic and cultural history and the geography of the region. He must determine beforehand what effect the early settlement history, population migrations to the area, features of physical geography, cultural centers, social structure of the reason, and later immigrations might have on the speechways of the area. With this information at his disposal, his findings will permit him to work out certain hypotheses about the importance of each of these aspects to the speech of the area under study.

After he has made his selection of communities to be investigated--usually ones which have played an important role in the history of the region, he selects the individuals within each community to furnish the materials he needs about the speech of the region. This selection is very carefully made since the individuals selected must be representative of the population. For the Linguistic Atlas of the New England States, three informants were selected for each community studied: (1) an old-fashioned, poorly educated rustic speaker, (2) a younger, better educated, and more modern speaker, and (3) a cultured, well-educated speaker (the third type only in large cities).

A trained interviewer ("field worker") interviews the informants. As a basis for the interview the field worker uses a questionnaire, the questions of which are so phrased as to evoke words and phrases giving regional information on pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Each item on the questionnaire must meet three requirements: (1) It must refer to a common thing well known to most of the people in the area. (2) It must be easy to introduce into friendly conversation. (3) It must have regional or social variants. The items selected usually concern the commonplace situations in life. Among the groups of items, for exampel, are those which concern weather, the home, food, clothing, and the farm. For instance, under clothing you will find the words coat, bracelet, suit, and tassel. Such an interview, carried on in a conversational fashion, can last from six to twenty hours! The special phonetic alphabet previously referred to is so minutely detailed that it can record more than four hundred differences in vowel sounds alone. It is the field worker's job to record the informant's comments about the item and his pronunciation of the term on worksheets on which the items are listed. These worksheets are bound in notebooks, and from them maps and charts are made.

Harold B. Allen of the University of Minnesota has used a slightly different technique in collecting materials for the forthcoming atlas of the Upper Midwest. He has used two informants in every community: (1) one elderly and poorly educated lifelong resident of the early stock, and (2) one middle-aged and better educated inhabitant. The worksheets of the New England atlas were modified to fit the area. The questionnaire consisted of 650 items. The second informant was a descendant instead of being a member of the native stock derived from the eastern Atlantic seaboard. In some instances, only one informant was used because the chronological and cultural spread between two informants does not exist in this area, a condition resulting from the recency of settlement. Another modification of the New England technique was the use of the Wenker[6] questionnaire technique which involves the sending of checklists by mail. Each checklist includes 130 lexical items found in the field worksheets. The aim was to get two such checklists from adult residents in every city of the entire area.[7]

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[6] George Wenker inaugrated the Deutscher Sprachatlas in 1876.

[7] Harold B. Allen, "The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest of the United States," Orbis, I: 89-94, 1952.

E. INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Certain inferences can be drawn from the results of the interviews and questionnaires. For instance, Allen found that there are twenty variants for "going down hill on a sled on one's stomach." A isogloss, or geographic boundary, separates Midland belly-buster territory from Northern belly-flop territory, and a line can be drawn in Iowa northwest from the Mississippi River at a point near Davenport, thence just south of the Minnesota State line to South Dakota, and westward across that state to Wyoming. Allen considers this a clear western extension of eastern regional patterns. From these findings, as one goes west, he finds a

Greater incidence of belly-buster:
10% in North Dakota
5% in Minnesota

Lesser incidence of belly-flop:
49% in Minnesota
46% in North Dakota
23% in South Dakota

Allen concludes that the Midland district is expanding and the Northern contracting West of the Mississippi.

The work of the linguistic geographer does not end with the collection of data or with the publication of that data in the form of maps or tables. As Dr. Allen has done in the example cited above, the data must be interpreted. One of the results is the plotting of features on a map of the area investigated to show the distribution pattern as the map above showed the distribution of belly-buster and

and led Dr. Allen to reach the stated conclusion.

DISCUSSION:

1. Where does the isoglass for "belly-buster" take a a sharp turn north?

   (at the Mississippi River in Illinois)

2. What conclusion can you draw about early settlers when they reached the Mississippi?

   (they turned north)

Project Map XII

F. THE PROGRESS OF THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES

The first of the series of linguistic atlases did not get under way until 1931 when field work was begun in the New England area by Professor Hans Kurath and others. In September, 1933, the field work was completed. Then followed six years of editing, analyzing, and recording of material on dialect maps. In 1939 the first volume of the work and Handbook explaining how to use the atlas were published. The last volume was ready in 1943. In all, the six volumes contain 734 maps of three types: (1) maps showing the differences in pronunciation; (2) maps showing the different words New Englanders use to identify the same object or action; (3) maps showing variants in grammatical usage. The Handbook explains the techniques used in gathering materials, the phonetic alphabet, the questionnaire, the description of the communities and informants participating, a sketch of dialect areas, a survey of settlement history, and bibliographies of linguistic geography and New England history. In 1949 Hans Kurath's

Lecture Continued

Word Geography of the Eastern United States was published, followed in 1953 by E. Bagby Atwood's Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States, and in 1961 by Kurath and McDavid's The Pronunciation of English in the Eastern United States.

According to Albert H. Marckquardt (American English, p. 53) field work for atlases comparable to the New England work has been completed for the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States. Field records for atlases of the North Central region and the Upper Midwest have been completed, and the materials are being edited with publication to come in the near future.

Work on atlases for the Rocky Mountain and the Pacific Coast regions has begun, and surveys have been made in Louisiana, Texas, and Ontario. Difficulties have been encountered in some of these areas. In the Rocky Mountain area, for instance, it has been difficult for the field workers to find natives under fifty. Another difficulty if the dialect mixture involving a combination of Navaho and/or Spanish.

Before we go on to a specific discussion of the speech of the upper Midwest, let's look at Map XII, which shows various terms in use for various referents.

STUDENT ASSIGNMENT: For this assignment, students should have outline maps of the U.S. available.

Teacher may wish to write "referent" on chalkboard

Map XII sets off variant terms in use for certain referents in North, North Midland, South Midland, and South Speech areas. Using the information from Project III, construct a similar map showing variant terms for any five or six referents in various parts of the region.

G. THE UPPER MIDWEST

Sample Lecture

In preparing materials for the proposed linguistic atlas for the Upper Midwest, Harold B. Allen has identified three groups of settlers who have influenced the speechways of the area:

(1) Group 1: Settlers from New England or New York State or from their derivative settlements in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

(2) Group 2: Settlers from the mid-Atlantic coast region, Pennsylvania and its derivative settlements in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

(3) Group 3: A small but distinct group of settlers from the south Atlantic coast who came through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, southern Ohio, Indiana, and southern Illinois.

DISCUSS: What inference about the language of Minnesota can you draw from this information?

In addition to these groups, in the 1870's and 1880's immigrants came directly from continental Europe and settled in fairly homogeneous communities. The most numerous of these was the Germans who settled in Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska. The largest foreign stock in Minnesota and the Dakotas is Scandinavian in origin--Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and Icelanders. Hollanders also settled in Iowa and Minnesota while French-Canadians settled in Minnesota and North Dakota. Later migrations brought Czechs to Nebrask

Lecture Continued

and Russo-Germans to the Dakotas as farmers, and Poles, Hungarians, and Croatians moved into the mining region of northern Minnesota.

Two major dialect streams have flowed into this section, Northern dialect speakers from New England and New York and Midland speakers from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These streams still preserve their identity in this area so that southern Iowa, South Dakota, and Nebraska clearly appear as the westward extension of the Midland dialect area.

The Mississippi River, however, permitted a redirection of the flow of westward migration and allowed a Midland group to move into Minnesota and North Dakota and thus to lend a strong flavor to the speech. The evidence seems to suggest that the future homogeneous speech of the area will be strongly Midland.

STUDENT ASSIGNMENTS:

1. To what extent has direct immigration from other countries affected the speech of your home area? Can you think of examples of dialect items which are in your speech pattern?

2. Note Map XIII posted on the bulletin board. This gives the incidence of vowels in music, dues, and tube for the Atlantic States. Which of these pronunciations do you normally use?

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. On the basis of Allen's "bundles of isoglosses," what conclusions can you reach about Northern dialect as compared with Midland? How can you prove your conclusions?

Read aloud or distribute copies of H. B. Allen's "You and Your Dialect," in Many-Sided Language Robert F. Spencer, ed. (Mpls.: U of Minnesota) pp. 35-46.

Study Questions Continued

2. Using Allen's examples of Northern, North Midland, and South Midland speech, examine your own dialect. From which of these three dialects do you seem to use most terms?

3. Which of the terms discussed in Allen have you not heard before? Can you provide an explanation for their use in the areas indicated, without your having heard them?

Sample Lecture

2. THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES

Work of the linguistic geographer as has been mentioned previously, has been somewhat hampered in the Rocky Mountain States of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, and Wyoming. McDavid and McDavid[1] list the handicaps as

(1) Uneveness of settlement (Some points were not settled until forty years ago.)

(2) Stockraising and specialized mining did little to build up permanent settlements.

(3) They physical geograph of the region does not make it possible to have a relatively even distribution of population as does the geography of the eastern states.

(4) The relatively sparse population.

One source ascribes Colorado's use of Northern, Midland, and Southern regional forms, for instance, to "the overlapping shingles of a roof--but with less regularity." This overlapping has made it possible to map clearly defined speech areas. At least one study reveals that Northern and/or Midland terms are the only regional terms offered by two-thirds of the Colorado informants.

Clyde T. Hankey, in A Colorado Word Geography,[2] reveals the Arkansas Valley as a focal area for both Southern and Midland expressions. The presence of smearcase and window blinds (Midland) and Southern clabber cheese and snake doctor in the lower Arkansas Valley support this conclusion: There is a markedly Southern character in the later settlement along the eastern edge of the state.

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[1] McDavid and McDavid, op. cit.

[2] Clyde T. Hankey, A Colorado Word Geography, American Dialect Society, No. 34, November 1960.

Hankey reports that the importation of Northern terms along the South Platte is illustrated by the spread of

Dutch cheese
sick to the stomach
comforter
darning needle
bellow
beller.

Also in evidence in the same area are the Midland terms:

snake feeder
quarter till
piece piecing.

The early co-existence of Midland and Northern terms and the ease of communication along the string of foothill towns is reflected in the erratic alternation in these communities between such terms as Dutch cheese and smearcase, comfort and comforter, snake feeder and darning needle.

The evidence of Northern dialect in Western Colorado, Hankey finds is strong. This he feels is the result of the somewhat later settlement of Western Colorado. The present situation suggests the predominance of Northern-Midland usage in Colorado and the possibility of an even clearer differentiation of Eastern-Southern speech from that part of the state.

The infiltration of other expressions that have enriched the language have come from varied sources. Marjorie Kimmerle has traced three words for orphan lambs to three different sources: penco (to the Spanish) which was brought into the state by Mexican sheepherders; bummer

Lecture Continued

(connected with the German Bummler: idler, loafer lounger), brought in be transfer of meaning from people to animals; poddy, (an orphan lamb brought up on a bottle), from Australian sheepherders who came to the United States as migrant workers for seasonal work of sheepherding before 1914.

T. M. Pearce traced the origin of park, sugan, and plaza. The term park in the Rocky Mountain Area is used to identify "a valley shut in on all sides by high mountains." John C. Fremont used this term to describe mountain entrances from a pass or defile which makes a kind of enormous pen or corral. Park is also used in the Black Hills north of Spokane, and in the Olympic National Forest on the Washington coast for the same type of geographical feature. Sugan, a South Midland term of Scotch-Irish derivation meaning a quilt or blanket, is found on the western edge of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Nebraska. Plaza, the Spanish word for town square centers along the old Spanish trails. Its route of infiltration is as follows: Nortern Mexico to New Mexico and Southwest Texas, to California, and then to Colorado.

Student Activity

Using the Atlas of Rocky Mountain States, find examples of the use of "Park" to describe the geographical features discussed in this lecture. If you knew nothing of the geography of the area, what could you conclude from these place-names?

Examples: Allen's Park, Colorado;
Woodland Park, Colorado;
Estes Park, Colorado

3. NEW ORLEANS AND SURROUNDING AREA

Mima Babington and E. Bagby Atwood report that in interviews with seventy inhabitants of this area that the predominance of usage is standard but that the younger generation is clinging to the words of French origin. The truly regional element has not for the most part been imported from the East but rather from Louisiana French. The dialect of southern Louisiana, therefore is not simply another subdivision of Southern speech. It shows the characteristic of a major focal area:

(1) the presence of a number of usages that remain at or near the center and that could not have made their way into the area from elsewhere,

(2) the presence of other usages that center in the area but extend also for varying distances beyond (Praline, gumbo, and gallery (for porch) have spread to Texas.) and

(3) a noticeable resistance to the invasion of usages from other dialect areas.

There is some evidence of expresssions from Southern (you-all--75%) and Midland (seesaw--92%). There is very little evidence of the infiltration of Northern items.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What geographical factors account for the unusual character of New Orleans speech?

   (on river; much transportation)

2. What historical factors account for this unusual character?

   (French settlement; early settlement by fur traders,etc.)

Lecture Continued

VII. THE USE OF DIALECT IN LITERATURE

Writers have attempted to represent the speech of an area on the printed page by means of spelling to represent pronunciation. Krapp maintains that both literary and scientific dialect are "scientific summaries of detail which produce a sense of unity, of separateness and completeness, only in the mind of the person who constructs for himself from this detail a sense of unity and homogeneity." The difference between the literary and scientific approach is primarily one of degree. Whereas the scientist attempts first to exhaust all the details of dialect speech which he observes and then to arrive at a conclusion, the literary artist uses only as much of the matter as he thinks he needs for his special literary purpose.

There are several clear kinds of dialect at the disposal of the literary artist. He may use class dialect, and his representation of this is often assisted by eye dialect. Class dialect may be based on social levels or on national derivation. At one time in the history of our country, humorous sketches were based on the confusion resulting from the mixture of German and English, Italian and English, Swedish and English, Polish and English, and Yiddish and English. Local dialects are also diverse. The Mountain speech of the Tennessee and Kentucky highlands is evident in the novels of Charles Egbert Craddock and in the works of Jesse Stuart. This type of dialect is mixed, involving numerous archaisms. In all types of folk speech, however, one is aware of the mixture of current and archaic expressions.

NOTE: Explain "eye dialect"--that is, the use of spellings, etc. to indicate dialect. In a sense, "dialect which meets the eye."

Examples: "you wuz"
"I sez"

SPECIAL NOTE TO THE TEACHER: In this section are included a variety of examples of literary dialect. It is quite likely that a given class of students will not wish to concentrate on all of the selections presented. The teacher is encouraged to choose as the class needs demand. Some selections may well be included in other units, as for example in the study of the literature of the various regions of America.

Lecture Continued

The humorous dialect character exemplified in the rustic but shrewd Yankee has been long evident in American literature:

1787	Jonathan in Royal Tyler's The Contrast began the trend.
1830	The Jack Downing Letters of Seba Smith
1848	Hosea Biglow in Lowell's Biglow Papers I
1866	Hosea Biglow in Lowell's Biglow Papers II

Student Activity: Read "The Courtin'" by James Russell Lowell and answer the following questions:

1. Find the following dialect expressions:
    a. Three words which ordinarily end in "ow."
    b. The word Lowell uses for "as," for "from," for "of," for "by and by."
    c. Ten examples of words ending in "in" instead of "-ing."
    d. Two irregular possessive words.
    e. Ten unusual preterit (past tense) verb forms.
    f. Two words in which the combinations "-or" and "-ir" have been replaced by "-u."
    g. As many other words as you can find that in your mind are misspelled.

2. What conclusions can you draw from your findings for the above questions about the character of Lowell's Yankee dialect?

Lecture Continued

James Russell Lowell insisted that the dialect transcriptions of Biglow Papers were very accurate and that he had recorded nothing that he had not heard. Krapp, however, after careful study of Lowell's technique feels that Lowell's New England dialect is merely the speech of ordinary low colloquial American discourse with a relatively slight addition of dialect detail somewhat

Lecture Continued

peculiar to New England. Krapp believes that most of the association of New England dialect literature with New England life is made through the content, setting, characters, and incidental sentiment, rather than through the language used. In "The Courtin'" the New England feeling is projected more by the rustic simplicity of content rather than by the language.

Student Activity: Read John Hay's "Little Breeches" and Jim Bludso" and work out the accompanying thought questions. From: John Hay, Pike County Ballads and Other Pieces (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1871).

Representative of the Southwestern literary dialect is John Hay's Pike County Ballads. A careful reading of poems like "little Breeches" will probably result in this decision: The basis of the language used is ordinarily uncultured American speech with the addition of certain local characteristics. Many of the expressions might be merely New England or Southern dialect terms:

New England	Southern
larnt	somewhar
sarched	thar
hosses	toted
upsot	fotching
critter's	
sot	

The conclusion drawn, then, might be that so-called Southwestern dialect as it has existed in literature is merely low colloquial speech plus certain details from New England and Southern dialect speech.

If your textbook includes selections by Bret Harte have the students read them for language content.

In Bret Harte stories and poems, some local terms of the minin camps and the gambling tables are included. An analysis of the language employed by Bret Harte will indicate the New England influence.

Thought Questions for "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso"

1. In your opinion, what are the colloquial words used in Hay's two poems? Are there any local dialect words? Are there any verbs which seem to be misused?

2. George Philip Krapp makes this comment about Hay's Southwestern dialect: "The so-called Southwestern dialect as it has existed in literature has been in reality merely low colloquial speech with an addition of some certain details from New England and Southern dialect speech." Is he justified in his judgment? What specific arguments can you make to support his decision?

3. If the Bret Harte story "The Outcasts of Poker Flats" is in your textbook, compare Harte's vocabulary with that of Hay. Are there any similarities between the two? Since both writers used the Southwest as the subject for their works, do they have any other points in common? Can you apply this statement of Krapp: "One readily transfers the feeling for distinctive locality and action to language, for language, like the chameleon, takes color to accord with surroundings" to the works of Hay and Harte?

Lecture Continued

New England dialect is rustic, simple, and wordly wise (under the guise of guilelessness; for example, "The Courtin'"). Southwestern literary dialect is free, easy, and flamboyant in sentence structure and expression.

Our literature contains no piece of Southern writing that stands as typically representative of Southern white dialect in the way that New England literature is representative of New England dialect. The Virginia gentleman in literature speaks usually as a conventional gentleman with slight touches of low colloquial speech indicated by the occasional ommission of r as in suh for sir. Writers who depict the white Southern gentlemen have carefully avoided deviations from standard usage and standard pronunciation which are common to most forms of literature.

Student Activity: Read "Literary Dialect Excerpt 3" and complete the exercise following it.

Some of the distinguishing features of Southern literary dialect are the use of like for as if; 'low for think or say; tyune, nyews, and dyuty for tune, news, and duty; the addition of a y-sound before the stressed syllable of garden (gyarden) and similar words; an intermediate a (between the a of father and fat); mo, sto, flo, fo, and do for more, store, flour, four, and door; you all for you folks, etc.

Student Activity: Read "Brer Rabbitt, Brer Fox, And the Tar Baby," by Joel Chandler Harris, In Angus Burrell and Bennett Cerf, eds., An Anthology of Famous American Short Stories (N.Y.: The Modern Library, 1953) pp. 408-411.

Harris definitely stated a scientific intention in recording the best known Negro dialect, Uncle Remus. He said that the language of his Negro was phonetically genuine. Harris' use of the spelling Brer for brother was probably to indicate the pronunciation of a vowel similar to that in *brother* with the loss of the *th*, rather than *oth*. The *d* in the spelling *de* for *the*, *dar* for *there* and *wid* for *with* was probably intended for a voiced ( ), which could be represented only by the *d* of the alphabet. *Sez* for *says* seems to be pure eye dialect. Harris is not consistent in indicating the loss of *r* in a final position and before consonants (hurt, hear), though he did use *co'se* for *course* and *mawin'* for *morning*.

An analysis of Harris' work will reveal, however, that there is nothing particularly distincitive as far as Negro dialect is concerned. Most of the expressions can be classified as general colloquial, general low colloquial and Southern low colloquial. A comparison of the excerpt from *Mingo* with one from *Uncle Remus* will reveal very little difference between the two, though one represents white speech and one Negro speech.

Sumner Ives, however, maintains that Harris very seldom shows purely regional pronunciations in the speech of educated people "unless there is an immediate reason for showing that the character is not a native to the locale of the story." (p. 91)

Ives cites the use of final *f* for voiceless *th* in *mouth* and *tooth*, the omission of *r* in *before* and *sure*, the ommision of *h in why* and *what*, the loss of initial unstressed syllables, the leveling of preterit and past participle forms, a greater dependence on archaisms, and assimilation. Ives further states that the author tends suggest the actual rhythm and flow of speech as closely as possible.

2

Student Activity: Read James Whitcomb Riley's "The Old Man and Jim" from: Louis Wann, ed., The Rise of Realism: American Literature from 1806 to 1888, New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. 730-32.

Student Activity: Work out thought questions for "The Old Man and Jim," p. 50 A.

A writer of Hoosier dialect is James Whitcomb Riley. A perusal of his poem, "The Old Man and Jim," will show that the dialect he employs is made up of ordinary colloquialisms, much eye dialect, and a few archaisms of speech that exist on the low colloquial level. There is nothing in the speech of this poem that would distinguish it from the colloquia patterns in the America of his day.

In his summary of dialect analysis, Krapp states that the main conclusion to be drawn from American dialect literature is that all local dialects of this kind are basically general colloquial or low colloquial American English, sprinkled occasionally with words and pronunciations that are more characteristic of the region, some of which are fairly suggestive of local associations.

Thought Questions for "The Old Man and Jim"

1. This is supposedly written in the Hoosier dialect of Indiana. Select the words which appear to deviate from Standard English.
2. How many of the words on the list are examples of eye dialect?
3. What can you conclude about the "Hoosier dialect" on the basis of this poem?
4. How many preterit (past tense) forms deviated from your usage?
5. Can you find any similarities between the New England dialect of "The Courtin'" and the Hoosier dialect as represented here?

VIII CONCLUDING ACTIVITIES

As a concluding activity, students can be encouraged to read one or more of the following works:

AUTHORS	NOVELS	LOCALE
Cable, George Washington	THE GRANDISSIMES	New Orleans
	MADAME DELPHINE	New Orleans
Cather, Willa	O PIONEERS!	Nebraska
	MY ANTONIA	Nebraska
	DEATH COMES FOR THE ARCHBISHOP	Southwest
Eggleston, Edward	THE CIRCUIT RIDER	Southern Indiana
	THE HOOSIER SCHOOLMASTER	Indiana
Heyward, Dubose	PORGY	Charleston, S.C.
	MAMBA'S DAUGHTERS (Gullah)	Charleston, S.C.
	PETER ASHLEY (Gullah)	South Carolina
Page, Thomas Nelson	RED ROCK	Virginia
Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan	THE YEARLING	Northern Florida
Rolvaag, Ole	GIANTS IN THE EARTH	North Dakota
	PEDER VICTORIOUS	North Dakota
Simms, Willian Gilmore	GUY RIVERS	Northern Georgia
	THE PARTISAN	
	THE YEMASSE	Southern Carolina
Stuart, Jess	HIE TO THE HUNTERS	
Twain, Mark	ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN	Mississippi River
	ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER	Mississippi River
West, Jessamyn	THE FRIENDLY PERSUASION	Indiana (Quaker)
	NON-FICTION	
Twain, Mark	ROUGHING IT	Far West
	LIFE ON THE MISSISSIPPI	Mississippi River
	SHORT STORIES	
Benet, Stephen Vincent	THIRTEEN O'CLOCK	Georgia
Cable, George Washington	OLD CREOLE DAYS	New Orleans
	MADAME DELPHINE	New Orleans
	STRANGE TRUE STORIES OF LOUISIANA	
Cather, Willa	OBSCURE DESTINIES	Nebraska
Dunne, Finley Peter	MR. DOOLEY STORIES	Chicago Irish

ACTIVITIES (continued)

AUTHOR	TITLE	LOCALE
Garland, Hamlin	MAIN-TRAVELED ROADS	Midwest
Freeman, Mary Wildins	A NEW ENGLAND NUN AND OTHER STORIES	New England
Harris, George Washington	SUT LOVINGOOD YARNS	Tennessee
Harris, Joel Chandler	UNCLE REMUS: HIS SONGS AND HIS SAYINGS DADDY JAKE AND THE RUNAWAY FREE JOE AND OTHER GEORGIA BALAAM AND HIS FRIENDS NIGHTS WITH UNCLE REMUS ON THE PLANTATION UNCLE REMUS AND HIS FRIENDS MINGO AND OTHER SKETCHES IN BLACK AND WHITE	Middle Georgia
Jewett, Sarah Orne	A NATIVE OF WINBY THE COUNTRY OF THE POINTED FURS	New England
Murfree, Mary Noailles	IN THE TENNESSEE MOUNTAINS	East Tennessee
Page, Thomas Nelson	IN OLE VIRGINIA MARSE CHAN	Virginia (Negro)
Singmaster, Elsie	BRED IN THE BONE	Pennsylvania Dutch
Stuart, Jesse	HEAD O' W-HOLLOW TALES FROM THE PLUM GROVE HILLS PLOWSHARE IN HEAVEN	Kentucky
Twain, Mark	THE CELEBRATED JUMPING FROG AND OTHER STORIES	Far West

APPENDIX A

THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF 1281 NEW ENGLAND SETTLERS AND 637 VIRGINIA SETTLERS IN THE YEAR 1700

NEW ENGLAND			VIRGINIA		
POINT OF ORIGIN	NUMBER	PERCENT	POINT OF ORIGIN	NUMBER	PERCENT
BRISTOL	496	38.7	BRISTOL	320	50.2
LONDON	193	15.0	LONDON	179	28.1
NORFOLK	125	9.8	GLOUCESTER	44	6.9
SUFFOLK	116	9.1	KENT	42	6.6
KENT	106	8.3	YORKSHIRE	30	4.7
ESSEX	100	7.8	LANCASHIRE	22	3.5
DEVON	79	5.9			
WILTSHIRE	69	5.4			
	1281	100.0		637	100.0

Based on figures prepared by Charles O. Paullin and John W. Wright for Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.

Unit 1101A

Key to Worksheet 1

Name ____________________

Part I

Directions: Transcribe into phonemic transcription:

1. rat /ræt/
2. cow /kaw/
3. me /miy/
4. I /ay/
5. over /owvər/
6. house /haws/
7. cheese /ciyz/
8. judge /jədj/
9. church /cərc/
10. ring /riŋ/

1. customer
2. helpful
3. awful
4. lockjaw
5. car
6. teeth
7. father
8. singing
9. baby
10. papa

Suggested Questions for a Unit Examination on MPEC 1101A
(Teacher should choose those for which material has been studied)

1. In 1888 Oscar Wilde was quoted as saying, "We have really everything in common with America nowadays except, of course, language." How much "truth" can you find for Wilde's assertion? Wilde was from England; what does his statement reveal about his attitude toward the development of English language in America?

2. In the Chicago Tribune of October 18, 1924, a headline announced the arrival of Sir William Craigie, a British scholar of the English language. He arrived here to begin work on a DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH. The headline read: MIDWAY SIGNS LIMEY PROF TO DOPE YANK TALK. What examples of English (American) was the Tribune consciously using in the headline? Why do you suppose they used such a headline?

3. Mencken's law regarding usage: "Whenever A annoys or injures B on the pretense of saving or improving X, A is a scoundrel." What or who is A and B? What is X? What was Menken's point in making this "law"?

4. Chapter 127, Section 178, 1923, of the Acts of the Legislature, State of Illinois states that the official language of the state of Illinois shall be known as the American language and not as the English Language. Do you know of other attempts to "legislate language"? How useful are such attempts? What effectiveness do they have? What does this kind of act tell about the lawmakers behind the proposal, especially in reference to their attitudes toward language?

5. Will Rogers once said, "I know a lot of people who ain't eatin' cause they ain't saying ain't." What was Rogers trying to prove by this statement?

6. In 1957 Lord Conesford wrote in the Saturday Evening Post that there "...is a Gresham's Law in language as in economics. Bad currency once admitted will tend to drive the good out of circulation. The bilge of Hollywood will sink the language of Churchill and Lincoln." What is Conesford's attitude toward language? Does he believe in acceptable language and unacceptable language? Is there a "bad currency" in language? If you think so, how is it determined? If you think not, why not?

7. "Wherever there is a touch of Virginia left," wrote Vachel Linday, "there is the United States language. The United States language is Virginia with the r put back into it." How valid is this statement? Is "General American Speech" "Virginia with the r put back into it?"

8. "Having inherited, borrowed or stolen a beautiful language, they (the Americans) wilfully and of set purpose degrade, distort, and misspell it apparently for the sole purpose of saving money in type-setting." (A statement by T.W.H. Crosland in 1907) How valid is this criticism of American English?

9. In language we have a principle of polarity--a central tendency which leads us to speak like those about us and a contrary tendency which leads us to speak differently. With the means of mass mobility now available to Americans, it is often alleged that soon there will be no dialect areas. What information in this unit can you cite to support the first statement? In what ways do we speak alike? In what ways differently? Can you give examples? How can the second statement about mass mobility be taken into account?

APPENDIX C

SUGGESTED KEY FOR WORKSHEET II OR PROJECT III

GENERAL COLLOQUIAL

an'
er=are
what's=what is
can't
won't
frum-from
hadn't
bin=been
I'd
what's
er=of
I'll

LOW COLLOQUIAL

seen=saw
a-kneelin'
'er=her
a-danglin'
a-tossin'
a-trimblin'
leetle
'a'=have
I says
huntin'
oughter=ought to have
livin'
betwix'
git
Deely=Delia

LOCAL DIALECT

thar
year-rings=ear ring
sot=set
riz=rose
what
yer
helt
airter=after
thes=just
goozle-throat
t'ar=tear
haslet=inwards

Literary Dialect Excerpt 3

EXCERPT FROM MINGO*

--Joel Chandler Harris

"When I seen her a-kneelin' thar, with 'er year-rings danglin' and 'er fine feathers a-tossin' an' a trimblin', leetle more an' my thoughts would 'a' sot me afire. I riz an' I stood over her, an' I says, says I, - "'Emily Wornum, whar you er huntin' the dead you oughter hunted the livin'. What's betwix you an' your Maker I can't tell.' says I, 'but if you git down on your face an' lick the dirt what Deely Bivins walked on, still you won't be humble enough to go what she's gone, not good enough nuther. She died right yer while you was a-traipsin' and' a-troolopin' roun' from pos' to pillar upholdin' your quality ideas. These arms helt 'er, says I, 'an' ef hit hadn't but 'a' bin for her, Emily Wornum' says I, I'd 'a' strangled the life out'n you time your shadder darkened my door. An' wha's more,' says I, 'ef you er come to bother airter Pud, thes make the trial of it. Thes so much as lay the weight er your little finger on 'er,' says I, 'an' I'll grab you by the goozle an' t'ar you haslet out, says I."

****

1. Joel Chandler Harris' Mingo is a sketch of a self-respecting well-to-do white woman from Georgia. Compare expressions used in the above selections with those used in "Brer Rabbitt, Brer Fox, and the Tar Baby," pointing out the identical expressions used and variants for a given expression.

2. George Philip Krap in The English Language in America points out three different levels of speech involved in Mingo: general colloquial, low colloquial, and local dialect; and an additional level for Uncle Remus: Negro dialect. Can you, with the help of your instructor, make such lists for the two selections? What conclusion can you draw from the treatment of the preterit (past tense form) of certain common verbs? What conclusion can you draw from your findings?

3. Krapp has drawn this conclusion: The speech of Uncle Remus and the speech of rustic whites as Harris records it are so much alike that if one didn't know which character was speaking, one might often be unable to tell whether the words were those of a white man or a Negro." (Quoted from above source, p. 250.) Sumner Ives, in "Dialect Differentiation in the Stories of Joel Chandler Harris" (American Literature, 27:88-96, March, 1955) takes an opposite view: "There are many items which appear in both his Negro and his rustic white speech, but there are others which appear only in his representation of Negro speech." Can you substantiate Ives' contention on the evidence obtainable from the above selections or do you agree with Krapp? Support your answer.

4. What similarities can you detect between the N.E. dialect and this?

From: Krapp, The English Language in America, Vol. 1, p.241.

APPENDIX I

VOCABULARY LIST

1. argot: the vocabulary special to any group, trade or profession.

2. cant: the special language or jargon used by any set of persons of a low or disreputable character like thieves or gypsies.

3. dialect: the language of a particular district or class as distinguished from the standard language.

4. dialect area: an area within which a well-defined dialect occurs, distinguished from other dialects by a characteristic group of features of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

5. dialect boundary: a bundle of isoglosses constituting a dialect area

6. ethnic dialect: habits of pronunciation, word choice and construction learned by persons in a community in which a language other than English is widely spoken.

7. eye dialect: a quasi-phonetic respelling of common words to convey the illusion of substandard pronunciation; not so much an actual portrayal of folk or regional speech as a stylized literary device to signal that folk speech is intended: ex., wuz for was or sez for says.

8. focal area: a compact region centering around a specific point of focus in which a given sound or form is universally present: ex., Minneapolis is a focal point for the expression rubber binder; the surrounding area in which this expression is used is a focal area.

9. graded area: an area showing considerable spread between the various isoglosses which flare out or cross and re-cross each other.

10. idiolect: the speech pattern of an individual at one particular time in his life.

11. intervocalic: an adjective meaning between vowels; for example, the r in Maryland stands between the vowels a and y.

12. isogloss: an imaginary line separating two localities which differ in some feature of their speech; a line drawn around the outer limits of the area in which the feature occurs; a bundle of isoglosses exists when several isoglosses approximately coincide for the greater part of their length.

13. jargon: a type of language that contains an unusually large number of words unfamiliar to the average speaker of a language.

14. language: "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which members of a social group cooperate and interact." (Sturtevant)

15. linguist: a linguistic scientist who applies the principles of science to language.

VOCABULARY LIST (continued)

16. linguistic atlas: a set of maps or tables reporting the dialect of particular regions.

17. linguistic geography: the study of the regional distribution of linguistic features within a language area.

18. literary dialect: a dialect used primarily by writers and scholars; an attempt on the part of literary writers to record dialectal speech by means of spelling, vocabulary, and grammatical usage.

19. loan-word: a type of linguistic borrowing in which the borrowing language takes over both the phonemic shape and meaning of the word; ex., depot, regime.

20. localism: a manner of speaking, pronunciation, usage, or inflection that is peculiar to one locality.

21. neologism: a new word or phrase.

22. phonetic alphabet: an alphabet in which a separate character is provided for every discernible kind of speech-sound.

23. regionalism: a manner of speaking, pronunciation, usage, or inflection that is peculiar to one locality.

24. relic area: a dialect area, usually lacking a center, whose geographic or cultural isolation has permitted the preservation of archaisms (old fashioned forms) which have been lost elsewhere; ex., Ozark region; Kentucky mountain area.

25. slang: language of a highly colloquial type, considered below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in some special sense.

26. transitional area: a dialect area without outstanding characteristics of its own but under pressure from two or more adjacent areas and generally bounded by irregularly spaced isoglosses (See graded area.)

SOME AMERICANISMS
AND THE WRITERS WHO FIRST RECORDED THEM

Word or Expression	Author	Earliest Date
almighty dollar	Washington Irving	1836
Americana	Herman Melville	c. 1886
Americanism	John Witherspoon	1781
Americanize	John Jay	1797
Babbitt	Sinclair Lewis	1922
belittle	Thomas Jefferson	1781-2
betsey (a gun)	David Crockett	1836
blue-nosed	Washington Irving	1819
blurb	Gelett Burgess	1907
booboisie	H. L. Mencken	1922
bromide	Gellett Burgess	1906
button pear	Samuel Sewell	1687
booziness	Nathaniel Hawthorne	1863
campus	John Witherspoon	1774
cold war	Walter Lippmann	1947
cybernetics	Norbert Weiner	1948
debunk	William E. Woodward	1923
demoralize	Noah Webster	1794
diddle	A. B. Longstreet	1835
do-funny	Frank Norris	1905
doll (a fop)	Ralph Waldo Emerson	1841
dummy	James Fenimore Cooper	1823
dust cloud	John Greenleaf Whittier	1849
fraternize (to agree)	J. W. Wilbarger	1889
galoot	Artremus Ward	1866
gang (political sense)	John Quincy Adams	1833
glad hand	George Ade	1896
genocide	Raphael Lenkin	1944
glogaloney	Clare Booth Luce	1943
gobbledegook	Maury Maverick	1944
goner	Henry David Thoreau	1857
goop	Gelett Burgess	1900
gospel mill	Mark Twain	1872
Gulf Stream	Benjamin Franklin	1769
highbrow	Will Irwin	1905
home-made	James Fenimore Cooper	1823
honky-tonk	Carl Sandburg	1927
Hub (Boston)	Oliver Wendell Holmes	1858
Indian leave	Washington Irving	1835
Indian trader (gun)	A. B. Longstreet	1835
inside man	Theodore Dreiser	1912
ivory tower	Henry James	1917
kid glove (verb)	Oliver Wendell Holmes	1858
killniferously	A. B. Longstreet	1835
kinspirit	Christopher Morley	1923
knock down/drag out	James Fenimore Cooper	1827
lap tea	James Russell Lowell	1890
lipograph (kiss)	Herman Melville	1852

Americanisms Continued

logrolling (political sense)	David Crockett	1835
lowbrow	Will Irwin	1905
memorandize	Walt Whitman	1892
millionocracy	Oliver Wendell Holmes	1861
milquetoast	H. T. Webster	c. 1910
moccasin	Capt. John Smith	1612
momism	Philip Wylie	1942
monocrat (partisan of monarchy)	Thomas Jefferson	1792
moron	Henry H. Goddard	1910
moola (money)	John O'Hara	1939
mother country	William Bradford	1617
multimillionaire	Oliver Wendell Holmes	1858
new deal (political sense)	Andrew Jackson	1834
new rich	William Dean Howells	1884
omniverbivorous	Oliver Wendell Holmes	1858
Okie	John Steinbeck	1939
panhandler	George Ade	1899
petting	Sinclair Lewis	1922
peppy	Sinclair Lewis	1922
rich-widowitis	Sinclair Lewis	1924
ripsnorter	David Crockett	1840
robber baron	D. G. Phillips	1905
scaly	George Washington	1786
shebang	Walt Whitman	1862
side-kick	O. Henry	1904
silk-stocking gentry	Thomas Jefferson	1849
skidoo	Tad Dorgan	1749
spandangalous	Herman Melville	1883
spec. (abbr. speculation)	John Adams	1835
square deal	Mark Twain	1883
squinch	A. B. Longstreet	1835
stuffed shirt	Willa Cather	1913
swimming hole	George Washington Harris	1867
tight wad	George Ade	1900
timothy (grass)	Benjamin Franklin	1749
underground railroad	Harriet Beecher Stowe	1852

CHARACTERISTICS AMERICAN-BRITISH EQUIVALENTS

Household terms

AMERICAN	BRITISH
absorbent cotton	cotton wool
ash can	dust bin; ash bin
baby carriage; baby buggy	perambulator; pram baby coach
baseboard	skirting
bucket	pail
bureau	chest of drawers
can	tin
cheesecloth	butter muslin
closet	cupboard
clothespin	clothespeg
comforter	eider down
denatured alcohol	methylated spirits
dipper	pannekin
dishpan	washer
dish towel	dish cloth
drape	curtain
dumbwaiter	service lift
extension wire	flex
eye glasses	spectacles
faucet	tap
flashlight	torch
garbage can	dust bin
hallway	passage
hope chest	bottom drawer
junk	rubbish
kerosene	paraffin
living room	sitting room
napkin	serviette
pantry	larder
paraffin	white wax
pillowcase	pillowber
pitcher	jug
scratch pad	scribbling block
shade	blind
stairway	staircase
toilet	lavatory; water closet
transom	fanlight
washbowl	washbasin
wash rag	face cloth
water heater	geyser

AMERICAN	BRITISH
cafe	tea room
candy	sweets
corn	maize; Indian corn
cone (ice cream)	cornet
corn meal	Indian meal
cornstarch	cornflour
cracker	biscuit
dessert	sweet course
dining car	restaurant car
French-fried potatoes	chips
ginger snaps	ginger-nut
hash	shephers's pie
highball	whiskey and soda
ice cream	ice
layer cake	jam sandwich
menu	tariff
molasses	treacle
oatmeal	porridge
peanut	monkey nut
picnic	beanfest
potato chips	crisps
rare (meat)	underdone
roast	joint
rutabaga	Swede
scallion	spring onion
scrambled eggs	buttered eggs
seafood	fish
sherbert	ice
silverware	silver-plate
smoked herring	kipper
soda biscuit	cream cracker
soft drinks	minerals
squash	vegetable marrows
straight (drink)	neat
string bean	French bean
sugar bowl	sugar basin
supper	tea
taffy	toffee
tavern	inn
tenderloin (beef)	undercut or fillet

Eating and Drinking

AMERICAN	BRITISH
ale	bitters; stout, porter, etc.

Clothing terms

AMERICAN	BRITISH
bathrobe	dressing gown
business suit	lounge suit

AMERICAN-BRITISH EQUIVALENTS (Cont.)

beer	lager
beet	beet-root
biscuit	scone or tea cake
broiled (meat)	grilled
derby	bowler
doll-up	dress-up, to the nines
garters	sock-suspenders
lap robe	rug
overcoat	great coat
overshoes	galoshes
oxfords	walking shoes
pants	trousers
raincoat	water-proof; mackintosh, mac
ready-to-wear	ready-wear
run (stockings)	ladder
shirt	blouse
slacks	bags
shoestring	bootlace; shoelace
straw hat	boater
suspenders	braces; galluses
sweater	pull-over
undershirt	vest
union suit	combination
vest	waistcoat

Recreational terms

bingo	house or housey-housey
bowling alley	skittle alley
carnival	sun fair
carom (billiards)	cannon
carousel; merry-go-round	roundabout; merry-go-round
checkers	draughts
commutation ticket	season ticket
deck (cards)	pack
diamond (baseball)	field
dime novel	penny dreadful; shilling shocker
game (football)	match
jumping rope	skipping rope
poolroom	billiards saloon
race track	race course
roller coaster	switchback railway; scenic railway
solitaire (cards)	patience
tenpins	nine-pins
vacation	holiday

cane	walking stick
collar button	stud
custom-made	bespoke; made to measure
corset	stays
elevator	lift
first floor	ground floor
freight elevator	hoist
flop house	doss house
frame house	wooden house
hospital	nurse's home
powder room	ladies's cloakroom
second floor	first floor
stairway	staircase
yard	small garden

Business and Professional terms

barber	hairdresser
bartender	barman; potman; barmaid
bell boy	page
deliveryman	roundsman
druggist	chemist
farm hand	agriculture laborer
fish dealer	fish monger
floorwalker	shopwalker
fruitseller	fruiterer
garbage man	dustman
hardware dealer	ironmonger
hog raiser	pig dealer
holdup man	raider
janitor	caretaker; porter
lawyer	barrister
life-guard	life-saver
longshoremen	dockers
operator	machine minder
magician	conjuror
pin boy (bowling)	thrower-up
porch climber	cat burglar
president	chairman
realtor	estate agent
saloon keeper	publican
shoe clerk	bootmakers assistant
stenographer	shorthand writer

Government and Legal terms

administration	ministry
administrator	administer

AMERICAN-BRITISH EQUIVALENTS (Continued)

Housing terms

annex	annexe
apartment	flat
apartment hotel	service flats
apartment house	block of flats
building	house

Monetary terms

bill	note
billion (1,000,000-000)	billion (1,000 000-000)
billion	milliard
check	cheque
dime	six pence; half shilling
dues	subscription
nickel	three pence
penny	half penny
roll of bills	sheaf of notes
rubber check	stummer cheque
stub	counterfoil
trade	negotiate

Educational terms

AB (degree)	BA
alumnus	graduate; old boy
AM (degree)	MA
bench	form
bulletin board	notice board
campus	meadow; field, quad; school
catalogue	calendar
commencement	speech day; prize day; encaenia
date	appointment; engagement
eraser	Indian rubber
expelled	sent down
extension	extra-mural studies
faculty	staff
fraternal order	friendly society
grade	form; standard, class
letter man	blue
principal	headmaster

Mail and Communication

long distance (telephone)	trunk
mail	post
postcard	postal card

admit to the bar	call to the bar
appropriation	vote
assignment	appointment or commission
brief case	portfolio
calendar	cause list
cop	bobby
county	shire
delegation	deputation
district	division
fusion	coalition
jail	goal
general delivery (mail)	poste restante
legal holiday	bank holiday
ordinance	by-law
parole	ticket of leave
patrolman	constable
penitentiary	prison
run (for office)	stand
speed cop	mobile police
table	postpone
taxes	rates
warden	governer
weather bureau	meteorological office
witness stand	witness box

Journalistic terms

ad	advert
clipping	cutting
clipping bureau	press cutting agency
editorial	leading article
news dealer	news agent
newsstand	kiosk

Theatrical terms

aisle	gangway
headliner	topliner
intermission	interval
line	queue
moving pictures	cinema
movies	flicks
orchestra seats	stalls
reservations	bookings
ticket office	booking office
vaudeville	variety
vaudeville theatre	music hall

Conveyances

airplane	aeroplane
automobile	motor car

AMERICAN-BRITISH EQUIVALENTS (Continued)

postpaid	post free
special delivery	express

Roads and Passageways

banked (road)	super-elevated
boulevard	arterial road; trunk road
corner	turning
detour	road diversion; loopway
dirt road	unpaved road
dock	wharf
driveway	drive
grade	gradient
main street	high street
shoulder (road)	verges
viaduct	overpass

Railroad terms

all aboard	hurry along now
baggage	luggage
box car	covered wagon
baggage car	luggage van
brakeman	brakesman
caboose	brake-van
call boy	knocker-up
car	carriage; coach
check gaggage	register
conductor	guard
cowcatcher	pilot; plough
crossties	sleepers
cut	cutting
dining car	restaurant car
engineer	engine driver
express company	carrier; forwarding agency
fireman	stoker
freight car	goods waggon
gondola	mineral waggon
grade crossing	level crossing
information bureau	inquiry office
limited	express
mail car	postal van
one-way ticket	single ticket
parlor car	saloon carriage
railroad	railway
roundhouse	running shed
round trip	return trip
schedule	time table

subway	underground railway; tube
transport (ship)	troop ship
trolley	tram
truck line	road haulier

Automobile terms

battery	accumulator
bumper	buffer
fender	wing; mudquard
filling station	petrol pump
gasoline	petrol
gear shift	gear lever
generator	dynamo
hood	bonnet
horn	hooter
low gear	first speed
motorman	driver
muffler	silencer
oil pan	sump
parking lot	car park
puncture	flat
roadster	two-seater
rumble seat	dickey
sedan	saloon car
spark plug	sparming plug
taxi	hack
tie up (traffic)	hold-up
tire	type
top	hood
truck	lorry
van	waggon
windshield	windscreen

Miscellaneous terms

across from	opposite
affiliate	fraternize
almost	scarcely
aluminum	aluminium
aside from	apart from
billboard	hoarding poster
chicken yard	fowl run
cigarette butt	cigarette end
clapboard	shiplap
coal-oil	paraffin
crew cut	close crop
deadline	time limit
dicker	haggle
diction	elocution

AMERICAN-BRITISH EQUIVALENTS (Continued)

stop-over	break one's journey	downtown	the city
switch	shunt	draft	conscription
ticket seller	booking clerk	fall	autumn
track	line	fire cracker	squib
union station	joint station	fog	mist
		from the ground up	down to its last detail
		full time	full out
		hot air	mere vaporing
		OK	all right
		pen point	nib
		period (punctuation)	full stop
		pound (unit of weight)	stone (equal to 11 lbs.)
		pry	prize
		sideburns	side whiskers
		sidewalk	pavement; footway
		shotgun	fowling piece

FOLK-SPEECH IN AMERICA *

Edward Eggleston

...English travelers very early mention the differences between colonial speech and that of the mother country. This arose partly from the great number of new objects and processes that much have names, and partly from English provincial words adopted into general use in America...

There are indigenous words in our folk-speech, but our local rustic dialects are composed almost entirely of words in their older forms or older senses, of English words now quite obsolete, and of words from provincial English dialects. When I first head farmers in the Lake George region call a "cowslip" a "cowslop," I smiled to think how modern the corruption was, and how easy to imagine that the name had something to do with the feeding of a cow. But rash guesses in etymology are ever unsafe; "cusloppe" is given as a form of the Anglo-Saxon word nine centuries ago. The etymologists miss the history of this word, and of the word "slop," by not knowing that, both as noun and verb, "slop" refers to any liquid or semi-liquid food for cattle, and this over so wide a region of America as to make its antiquity certain.

Take another expression that seems strictly American. "She is in perfect gale," one says of a little girl or a young woman in a state of effervescent mirth. It is easy and natural to suppose this to be modern, and to derive it from a seafarer's figure of speech. But the "Danes" who settled in England spoke a tongue very much like the Icelandic, and there is in this speech the word gall,--with long vowel--meaning "a fit of gaiety," so that Anglo-Danish ladies in the court of Knut probably "got into a perfect gale" as our American women and girls do now. In New England they have the verb "to train" for to romp. For this I can find no remote ancestry; it may have come from the New England "trainin," with its rum, cider, and ginger-bread, but I do not think it so recent as that...

Now an American feels something vulgar in the word "nigger." A "half-cut" American, though he might use it in speech, would hardly print it. It repels us even in Thackeray. The black man has taken to calling himself Negro nowadays, and he puts no little race assertion into the word; but he is mortally averse to "nigger," which on this side of the sea has the tang of overseer's lingo. "Don't you call me niggah; de debbil is a niggah," is the way a South Carolina black woman uttered her objection a while ago. But there is nothing diabolical--indeed, there is nothing essentially vulgar--in the pedigree of the offensive word. The first blacks brought to Jamestown are not called in Captain Smith's history "Negro," the Spanish word for "black," but "negar," from the French word for a black man. They were similarly called in Boston--in the records it is spelled "negar," but a will of 1653 made it "negar." This pronunciation "negar," or "neegur," was the commonest one on the Ohio River in my childhood, and is an older word in English than Negro.

In the first anti-slavery tract printed in New England, in the year 1700, Judge Sewall writes not only "Negro," but in one place "niger," which I take to be "nigger" in sound. Perhaps the sound of the old French word is most nearly kept in the Irishman's "naygur."

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*From The Century Marazine, Vol. XLVIII, October 1894.

DIFFERENCES IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN USAGE*

Thomas R. Lounsbury

It has been intimated in a previous article that in the strictest and, it may be added, in the only really proper sense of the term, an Americanism is a word or phrase naturally used by an educated American which under similar conditions would not be used by an educated Englishman. The emphasis, it will be seen, lies on the word "educated." To set off the speech of the illiterate American against the speech of the cultivated Englishman is as unscientific as it would be to set off the speech of the London cockney against that of the cultivated American. Comparison of the usage of two different countries can properly be made only between members of the same social class.

Furthermore, this definition of Americanism needs another limitation, so far as these particular articles are concerned. They are in general given up to the consideration of the words and pharses found in the written tongue and not in the one spoken. In every country the colloquial speech of the most cultivated embarces a far wider range and variety of words and phrases than the same men would permit themselves to use in the printed page. Even he who is the most reckless in writing would never think of assuming to himself there a liberty of expression, not to call it license, which he indulges in unhesitatingly in conversation. The two general principles which have just been laid down are subject to certain modifications. Here, however, it is only important to say that the discussion of the subject is restricted to the written speech of educated men on both sides of the Atlantic. As a result, slang, vulgarisms, colloquialisms, and the grammatical blunders of the illiterate--which last are apt to be the same in all countries--do not come under consideration. This is not because all the terms excluded are in themselves unimportant. The language of low life is often picturesque and forcible. It is from that quarter that the literary language not infrequently recruits its own exhausted energies. But until such expressions become embodied in the classical speech they have to be disregarded by him who limits his attention to that.

Restrictions such as these narrow largely the field to be covered. It is far, indeed, from being extensive. The truth is, the moment we give up the consideration of terms necessary to depict American scenery and American life, manners, and customs--for which no equivalents exist--we have, comparatively speaking, but a beggarly account of words to bring out sharply the differences of educated speech as found on the two sides of the Atlantic. Furthermore, these differences tend to become fewer with the increase of intercommunication. Still they exist. One cause for divergence of speech was inevitable in the nature of things. The American continues to retain words and meanings of words which were in frequent, if not in general use, both literary and colloquial, when his ancestors left their native land. It is to be kept in mind that a language transported from one country to another is fairly certain to undergo what is technically called an arrest of development. This is especially sure to be the case at periods when not only are distances vast but intercommunication infrequent. In the country emigrated from, words once familiar drop gradually out of use. New words are introduced to replace them. Others again change their meaning. Of two words once existing side by side and denoting the essentially same thing, one is taken and the other left. In this movement of speech the transferred language has little or no part. Not only are the words which have been brought over retained; they are retained in their original sense. Hence in time the language of the colony as contrasted with that of the mother-country tends to seem, if not be, archaic to the dwellers in the latter.

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*From: Harpers Magazine, Vol. CXXVII, July, 1913.

Such a result has been distinctly manifest in the language of this country. Many of our so-called Americanisms represent the English usage of the former half of the seventeenth century, when the original settlements were made here. Most of this class of transported words were heard then everywhere in cultivated speech. On the other hand, some had their native home in the English dialects. They have never been used in English literature, at least on any scale worth tongue. Take one notable illustration. Cracker, as the designation of a thin, hard biscuit, is widely used with us by all classes. Now this term is not entirely unknown in English literature, but it cannot be said to to have in it any recognized position. In the dialects of northern England and in parts of Scotland it is, however, not infrequent. From these quarters it was in all probability brought to America. Here it has come into general if not into universal use.

Very few, indeed, are the instances in which either the transported word or the meaning of it has died out in England itself. It is used at times; but still it is heard there so little, and so frequently heard here, that on both sides of the Atlantic it comes to be considered as a distinctive mark of American speech. No reader of Shakespeare needs to be told that he often uses mad in the sense of "angry." When Hotspur tells Henry IV. that the popinjay lord who had been sent to demand his prisoners made him mad, he makes use of an expression likely to be heard at any moment from the mouth of an American. Very noticeably, too, upon the speech of this country has been the influence of the Bible, the main reading of the early New England colonists. For instance, the authorized version uses the adjective ill half a score of times, but it never uses it of any bodily ailment. There is also in it no mention of illness. In both cases it is sick and sickness that are invariably found; and they are found very often. The same usage is generally characteristic of Shakespeare also. Ill, referring to physical indisposition, is employed by him about a dozen times, while sick, in the same general sense, can be found over a hundred. This practice remains with us. Though ill is used, it is not used so frequently as the word it has largely supplanted in the mother-country; for English speech, at least English colloquial speech, has largely abandoned the once general employment of sick. It practically limits it to sickness of the stomach. Or take again a common use of the adjective homely, as applied to personal appearance. The Bible has not the word at all in any sense. In this particular sense Shakespeare has it but three times. But when we reach a little later period it is a natural inference that such meaning must have been prevalent. Otherwise Milton could hardly have represented Comus as saying:

> "It is for homely features to keep home,
> They had their name thence."

This now regular usage in America has never died out in England. It can be found in various later authors. But though surviving there, it has little of the vigorous life this meaning of the word retains here. Accordingly, so employed it may be called an Americanism.

It is almost needless to observe that the limitation of the differences between English and American usage, not merely to the speech of the educated, but to their written speech, restricts the consideration of the subject to a comparatively small number of words, Yet few as these are, they are too many to be treated in the pages of a magazine. Accordingly it is only for the sake of illustrating and enforcing principles that examples are adduced. Some idea a noun and the other an adjective. Where an Englishman says autumn, the American generally says fall. Both terms have, indeed, been more or less in use in the two countries; but the frequency of the employment of the latter on this side of the ocean and its infrequency on the other entitle it to the right of being designated as an Americanism. The variation of usage extends even to the meaning. In popular speech autumn comprises in England the months of August, September, and October; in America it comprises September, October, and November. This difference of signification is very possibly due for its continuance, if not for its origin, to difference of climatic conditions. But when we come to the employment of the words themselves there is no reason in the nature of things for this particular divergence. Autumn, indded, is common enough with us; but thought somewhat frequent in literature, it is not often heard in colloquial speech. The exacr reverse is true of England, save that there fall is altogether less used than autumn is here...

The other word referred to is the adjective rare, as designating meat partially cooked. The corresponding English term is underdone. This history of the former is essentially the same as that just given of fall. Both rare and underdone are used in the two countries; in each, one is heard regularly, the other infrequently. Very many absurd derivations have been concocted for the word now generally regarded as Americanism. It is hardly necessary to say that it is quite as distinct in its origin as in its origin as in its meaning from the more common term derived from the Latin rarus. Thus our adjective is genuinely Anglo-Saxon. It is to be noted here that a number of words now beginning with the liquids l, n, and r once possessed an initial h. Thus loaf was originally hlaf, nut was hnut, roof was hrof. When the aspirate ceased to be pronounced, our ruthless ancestors, not having the reverential attitude of their descendants toward unnecessary and misleading letters, began their work of ruining the language by incontinently dropping the initial h as having outlived the usefulness. To words of this class belonged our rare. Its original form was hrer. In Anglo-Saxon dictionaries it is defined as "raw, uncooked." Like the rest of its class it also proceeded to treat contumeliously the initial h. In the spellings rere, rear, later rare, it had and continues to have a vigorous existence in certain of the English dialects. To some extent this remains true also of the cultivated speech. In the latter, however, it was for a long time mainly used to designate eggs boiled soft. Later it came to the front in a more general sense. Yet in spite of its occasional appearance in literature, it seems to have dropped out of the speech of educated man in England. The contrary is true of America. Apparently it was from the dialects that the word made its way into ordinary use in this country. Yet though rare is now exceedingly common and has been for a long time, it is a singular fact that it does not appear in Pickering's early dictionary of Americanisms nor in the much fuller one of Bartlett, though the last edition of the latter's work came out as late as 1870.

These two examples serve to make clear the nature of the real distinction which exists between the speech of educated man in the two countries....

CONCERNING THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE*

Mark Twain

There was an Englishman in our compartment, and he complimented me on--on what? But you would never guess. He complimented me on my English. He said Americans in general did not speak the English language as correctly as I did. I said I was obliged to him for his compliment, since I knew he meant it for one, but that I was not fairly entitled to it, for I didn't speak English at all--I only spoke American.

He laughed, and said it was a distinction without a difference. I said no, the difference was not prodigious, but still it was considerable. We fell into a friendly dispute over the matter. I put my case as well as I could, and said:

"The languages were identical several generations ago, but our changed conditions and the spread of our people far to the south and far to the west have made many alterations in our pronunciation, and have introduced new words among us and changed the meanings of many old ones. English people talk through their noses; we do not. We say know, English people say nao; we say cow, the Briton says kaow we--"

"Oh, come! that is pure Yankee; everybody knows that."

"Yes, it is pure Yankee; that it true. One cannot hear it in America outside of the little corner called New England, which is Yankee land. The English themselves planted it there two hundred anf fifty years ago, and there it remains; it has never spread. But England talks through her nose yet; the Londoner and the backwoods New Englander pronounces 'know' and 'cow' alike, and then the Briton unconsciously satirizes himself by making fun of the Yankee's pronunciation."

We argued this point at some length; nobody won; but no matter, the fact remains--Englishmen say noa and kaow for "know" and "cow", and that is what the rustic inhabitant of a very small section of America does.

"You conferred your a upon New England too, and there it remains; it has not travelled out of the narrow limits of those six little states in all these two hundred anf fifty years. All England uses it, New England's small population--say four millions--use it, but we have forty-five millions who do not use it. You say 'glahs of wawtah,' so does New England; at least, New England says glahs. America at large flattens the a, and says 'glass of water,' these sounds are pleasanter than yours; you may think they are not right--well, in English they are not right, but in 'American' they are. You say flahsk, and bahsket, and jackhass; we say 'flask,' 'basket,' 'jackass'--sounding the a as it is in 'tallow,' 'fallow,' and so on. Up to late as 1847 Mr. Webster's dictionary had the impudence to still pronounce 'basket' bahsket, when he knew that outside of his little New England all America shortened the a and paid no attention to his English broadening of it. However, it called itself an English Dictionary, so it was proper enough that it should stick to English forms, perhaps. It still calls itself an English Dictionary to-day, but it has quietly ceased to pronounce 'basket' as if it were spelt bahsket. In the American language the h is respected; the h is not dropped or added improperly."

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*From: The Stolen White Elephant by Mark Twain. London: George Newnes, Ltd. n.d.

"The same is the case in England--I mean among the educated classes, of course."

"Yes, that is true; but a nation's language is a very large matter. It is not simply a matter of speech obtaining among the educated handful; the manner obtaining among the vast uneducated multitude must be considered also. Your uneducated masses speak English, you will not deny that; our uneducated masses speak American--it won't be fair for you to deny that, for you can see yourself that when you stable boy says, 'It isn't the 'hunting that 'hurts the horse, but the 'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer on the 'ard 'ighway,' and our stable-boy makes the same remark without suffocating a single *h*, these two people are manifestly talking two different languages. But if the signs are to be trusted, even your educated classes used to drop the *h*. They say *humble* now, and *heroic*, and *historic* etc., but I judge that they used to drop those *h's* because your writers still keep up the fashion of putting *an* before those words, instead of *a*. This is what Mr. Darwin might call a 'rudimentary' sign that *an* was justifiable once, and useful--when your educated classes used to say *'umble*, and *'eroic*, and *'istorical*. Correct writers of the American language do not put *an* before those words."

The English gentleman had something to say upon this matter, but never mind what he said--I'm not arguing his case. I have him at a disadvantage now. I proceeded.

"In England you encourage an orator by exclaiming 'H'yaah! h'yaah!' We pronounce it *heer* in some sections, 'h'yer' in others, and so on' but our whites do not say 'h'yaah,' pronouncing the *a's* like the *a* in *ah*. I have heard English ladies say 'don't you'--making two separate and distinct words of it; your Mr. Burnand has satirized it. But we always say 'dontchue', This is much better. Your ladies say, 'Oh, its *o*ful nice!' Our ladies say, 'Oh, its *aw*ful nice!' We say '*Four* hundred,' you say '*For*"--as in the word *or*. Your clergymen speak of the 'Lawd,' ours of 'the Lord'; yours speak of the'gawds of the heathen,' ours of 'the gods of the heathen,' When you are exhausted you say your are 'knocked up.' We don't. When you say you will do a think 'directly,' you mean 'immediately'; in the American language--generally speaking--the word signifies 'after a little.' When you say 'clever' you mean 'capable'; with us the word used to mean 'accomodating,' but I don't know what it means now. Your word 'stout' means 'fleshy'; our word 'stout' usually means 'strong.' Your words 'gentlemen' and 'lady' have a very restricted meaning; with us they include the barmaid, butcher, burglar, harlot, and horsethief. You say, 'I haven't *got* any stockings on,' 'I haven't *got* any memory,' 'I haven't *got* any money in my purse': we usually say, 'I haven't any stockings on,' 'I haven't any memory,' 'I haven't any money in my purse.' You say 'out of window'; we always put in a *the*. If one asks 'How old is that man?' the Briton answers, 'He *will be* about forty'; in the American language we should say 'He *is* about forty.' However, I won't tire you sir; but if I wanted to, I could pile up differences here until I not only convinced you that English and American are separate language, but that when I speak my native tongue in its utmost purity an Englishman can't understand me at all."

"I don't wish to flatter you, but it is about all I can do to understand you *now*."

That was a pretty compliment, and it puts us on the pleasantest terms directly --I use the word in the English sense...

The teacher can also use the following: "The Fable of the Michigan Counterfeit Who Wasn't One Thing or the Other," from *More Fables* by George Ade. Chicago and New York: Herbert S. Stone, 1900.

NATION'S BEST TEXTBOOK OF SLANG FORMED BY CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*

Chicago, Dec. 13 (AP). --The nation's best textbook of slang is the Congressional Record and the White House is a fount of the American vernacular, according to Sir William S. Craigie, University of Chicago lexicographer and co-editor of the Oxford English Dictionary.

In his search for characteristic expressions with which Americans have colored the English language since the Pilgrims landed, Professor Craigie said his best sources had been, not the jargon of street corners or the dialect of the underworld but the volumes where in are recorded the speeches of national legislators and the missives of the Presidents.

The Congressional Record before the middle of the last century was almost free from slang, Professor Craigie said.

"Before then legislators were very formal," he continued. "They were conservative in their speech, purists. The old school of oratory flourished. Men spoke as men wrote. Again, some sort of unofficial censorship may have existed. Speeches, in being transferred to the page may have been edited to conform to grammatical rules."

Lawmakers are not especially careless in their choice of words, Professor Craigie pointed out. Representing the demands of different parts of the country, they also represent their peculiarities. At Washington, colloquialisms are centralized and made public for the rest of the country to grasp. Soon they become national and find their way into the language of the people...

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*From: The New York Times, December 14, 1932.

THE GREAT WEST*

Schele De Vere

...The New England States have a dialect of their own, by far the most fully developed and the most characteristic of all the varieties of English spoken in America. I represents alike the effect which climate has upon the organs of speech in their favorite sounds--the nasal twang and the violent curtailment of words,--and the direction given to the choice of terms and the arrangement of sentences, by their favorite occupations and their leading lines of thought. But the Great West has impressed the stamp of its own life even more forcibly upon the speech of its sons. Everything is on such a gigantic scale there that the vast proportions with which the mind becomes familiar, beget unconsciously a love of hyperbole, which in its turn invites irresistibly to humor. Life is an unceasing fury of activity there, and hence speech also is racy with life and vigor; all is new there to those who come from older countries or crowded cities, and hence new words are continually coined, and old ones receive new meanings; nature is fresh and young there, and hence the poetic feeling is excited, and speech assumes unconsciously the rhythm and the elevation of poetry.

The language of Western men has been called high-flown, overwrought, grandiloquent--it may be so, but it is so only as a fair representation of the Western world, which God created on a large scale, and which in its turn grows faster, works harder, achieves more than any other land on earth has ever done. Nor must it be forgotten that the West has no severe critic to correct abuses, no court and no polite society to taboo equivocal words, no classic writers to impart good taste and train the ear to a love of gentle words and flowing verse. Speech, there, is free as the air of heaven, and moves with the impulsive energy of independent youth, conscious of matchless strength, and acknowledging no master in word or deed. It is an intensified, strangely impulsive language, just as the life's blook of the whole West throbs with faster pulse, and courses with fuller vigor through all its veins. There is no greater difference between the stately style of of Milton and the dashing, reckless lines of Swinburne, than between the formal, almost pedantic echo of Johnsonian rhythm in Hawthorne's work, and the free and easy verses of Brett Harte. Hence, New England has wit, and what can be more caustic than Lowell's deservedly famous political squibs? But the West has humor, golden humor, full of poetry, dramatizing dry facts into flesh and blood, but abounding in charity and good-will to all men.

So it is with their sounds, that come full and hearty from broad chests, breathing freely the pure air that sweeps down from Rocky Mountains unhampered, across broad prairies, over a whole continent. Words are as abundant as food, and expressions grow in force and extent alike, till they sound extravagant to the more economical son of the East. Speech is bold, rejecting laws and rules, making one and the same word answer many purposes, and utterly scouting the euphemistic shifts of a sickly delicacy. It becomes vulgar--and it will become so, as the sweetest milk turns sour when the thunder rolls on high--the vulgarism is still what J. R. Lowell so happily calls "poetry in the egg." Its slang, also, is as luxurious as the weeds among the rich grasses, but at least it is home-made and smells of the breath of the prairie or the bood of the Indian, and is not imported from abroad or made in the bar-room and betting-ring.

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*From: Americanisms; The English of The New World, by M. Schele De Vere, New York: Charles Scribner & Company, 1872.

Hence the student of English finds in the West a rich harvest of new words, of old words made to answer new purposes, often in the most surprising ways, and of phrases full of poetical feeling, such as could only arise amid scenes of great beauty, matchless energy, and sublime danger.

The almost boundless liberty with which Americans use the words of their language, was recently shown with painful impressiveness. In a fearful catastrophe which happened in February, 1871, on the Hudson River railway, all the horrors of the disaster and all the grief for the numerous victims could not efface the deep impression made by the useless but noble heroism of the engine-driver, who appeared afterward that in discussing with railroadmen the expendiency, of jumping from an engine in time of danger, Doc. Simons had once said, "I would squat!" He meant that he would squat down behind the boiler and trust to going through with whatever might obstruct the road, after having pulled the brakes, reversed the engine, and opened the throttle.

A very peculiar term, full of instruction in showing the origin of many similar words, is the name of Maverick, used in Texas to designate an unmarked yearling. It is derived from the Hon. Samuel Maverick, of San Antonio, who removed to Western Texas thirty years ago, driving with him some three thousand head of cattle, then the largest herd in all the country. He established a ranche, and placed an old Negro there in charge of the cattle, to mark, brand, and see after them. Unfortunately this man was more given to the bottle than his business, and as a natural consequence, many a calf and colt went unmarked. The neighbors, having much smaller herds, were very careful to mark and brand every one of their calves during the early spring and summer. The spring after the arrival of Mr. Maverick's large herd these rancheros noticed a number of unmarked yearlings, and, well axquainted with the habits of his steward, naturally concluded that they were the new-comer's property, and hence called them mavericks, so that the very absence of a mark and brand was taken as evidence of his ownership...

The tendency of all Americans to use high-sounding words of extensive meaning for comparatively small matters, is nowhere more fully developed than in the West. Here even small objects are not brought, but crowded, and thus the Rev. Mr. Cartwright even says quaintly: "God Almighty crowded me into the world bareheaded, and I think no more harm to enter Massachusetts bareheaded, than for the Lord to bring me into the world without a hat." (Autobiography, p. 473). What elsewhere is great appears to him nothing less than cruel, although here also he only follows the example set him by his early ancestors, since Hakluyt already thus used the word. Mr. Bartlett tells the pleasant story of a man who, having been quite seriously ill, was asked by the physician who had calmed the paraoxysm, how he felt, and replied: "Oh doctor, I am powerful weak, but cruel easy." (Dictionary, p. 170.) On the other hand, the Western man takes the much debated word cuss and employs it where he wishes to express anything but a curse, often even affection. There is a touching incident mentioned in F. B. Harte's Luck of Roaring Camp, where a rough, wicked miner, Kentuck Joe, goes to see a new-born baby, and finding his finger clutched by the little creature, breaks forth ecstatically in the words: "The d---d little cuss; he rastled with my finger!" holding that finger a little apart from its fellows and examining it curiously. The question is, whether the term comes really from a vulgar pronunciation of curse, as most authorities state, or is an abbreviation of customer, with the primary idea of what is frequently called a bad or an ugly customer. The latter theory might be supported by the fact that a cuss is, as he has already been stated, by no means always a curse, and that a low, miserly person is very apt to be called a mean cuss, which may be nothing more than a mean customer. This would apply even to a case like the following, taken from the New Orleans Picayune: "I had oft heard tell of Yankees, but never knew what mean cusses they were, until I met a few of them at Washington...".

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